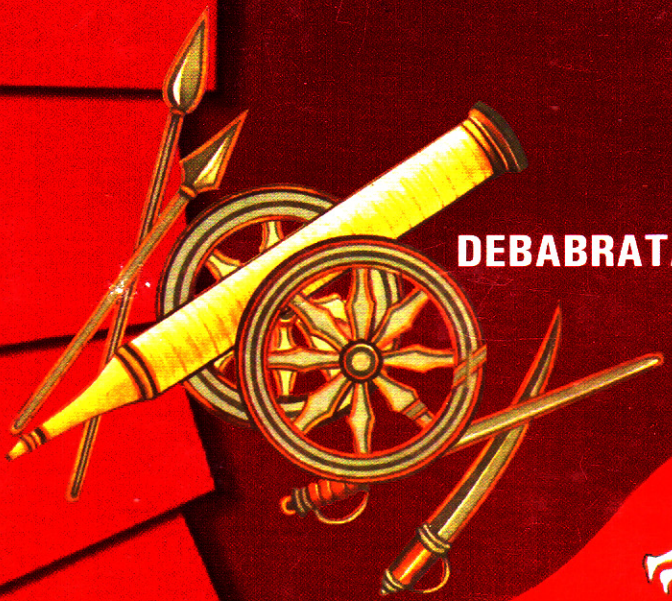
MILITARY HISTORY OF TRIPURA

(1490 TO 1947)



DEBABRATA GOSWAMI

Tribal Research & Cultural Institute
Govt. of Tripura

MILITARY HISTORY OF TRIPURA (1490 TO 1947)

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TRIBAL RESEARCH & CULTURAL INSTITUTE
GOVERNMENT OF TRIPURA
AGARTALA.

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FOREWORD

Directorate of Tribal Research Institute has been publishing old historical documents, Books on Social, Political and Cultural aspects of life of Tribal people of Tripura from time to time. Shri Debabrata Goswami has published a thesis on "Studies of the Military History of Tripura (1490-1947)." The work done by Shri Debabrata Goswami is exhaustive and mentions about certain historical aspects of Tribal life and culture which hitherto has not been covered so far.

2. This book focuses on various aspects which would be of great help to scholars pursuing defence studies. It also highlights sailent features of relationship between old Tripura State with its neighbouring countries.

3. Such an understanding will give an insight into political, social and cultural aspects of the State. It would enable the people from all walks of life to appreciate and understand the political, cultural and socio-relationship within various groups in the State. I am sure this book would be of immense help to academicians, scholars and practising administrators.

4. Tribal Research Institute. is also thankful to Major Prethiveer Jung (Rtd.) who has conducted a review and gives necessary suggestions regarding the present book.

Agartala
28th Sept. 1996

(D. K. Tyagi)
Commissioner to the
Govt. of Tripura,
Agartala.

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PREFACE

Academic study of war history is a comparatively recent branch of knowledge. Systematic maintenance of military history of the past happens to be a rare thing in most part of the world; annals of wars, whenever maintained, mainly aimed at eulogising a particular hero or to narrate the feats of a people. Such materials are so mixed up with imaginary attributes that it is even more difficult to sift out any accurate account then reconstruct the historical facts. Yet a study of the military history is recogniosed essential in understanding the socio-political relations of a people with the neighbours. It also throws light on the existing system of administration and administrative hierarchy of an area. Above all, it explains many turns of the social history if looked into in proper perspective. Military history sometimes, in its own limited way, gives an idea about the ways of life followed in the given period. Such a wide area of study, I must admit, is not my objective. It remains for more competent scholars to relate the materials of military history to the various aspects of general history. In my humble way, I have only tried to arrange and present the basic facts of military history of Tripura, and that too, of a given period (1490-1947 A. D.) to deduce therefrom certain conclusions regarding the military skill and acumen of the Tripura rulers of the time.

A reader has a right to demand why dredge up particulars about military history out of a dim past ? Why this arbitrary selection of period ? My answer to those questions are : that the State of Tripura has little reference in the great events of our national history relating to military activities; but this State, by its peculiar geographical location, has always been the link tract between the tract

of mainland and the hilly inaccessible regions of north-east. In a study of the military history of this tiny State we may find the intermingling of the martial traditions of the plains as well as of the hills. The selection of the period also is not as arbitrary as it looks apparently. It was during the reign of Dhanya Manikya (C. 1490-1520 A. D.) that the first recorded battle of this State happened to have taken place and 1947 being the year of our independence, the seperate indentity of Tripura, as an 'independent' State, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist from that year; although the formal accession of the princely State of Tripura to the Indian Union took place in 1949.

It must be admitted that the maintenance of records relating to military history of the State leaves much to be desired. Documents are scanty; but everywhere I tried my utmost to logically analyze and to scientifically corroborate the available materials. The contents of this study have been so arranged as to cover the different sides of military activities. Starting with a preliminary discussion on the importance of military history and a general statement on military geography together with the strategic importance of the location of the State of Tripura, its early military history, changes in its military set-up subsequent to British connection, I have proceeded through an analysis of military institutions, Organisation and art and tactics, to the economic potentials of war and armed forces and have drawn a picture of Tripura between the two World Wars. Any History of Military activities needs to be studied in its different aspects; for, a battle is not an isolated incident; the establishment of cause-and-effect relationship is a must.

In the preparation of this study I have received generous and ungrudging help from several institutions and

individuals to whom I must acknowledge my indebtedness not only as a mark of formality and courtesy but also as a genuine expression of my gratitude. The institutions are: National Archives, New Delhi; West Bengal State's Archives, Calcutta; Secretariat archives, Government of Tripura, Agartala; National Library, Calcutta; Asiatic Society, Calcutta; Library of the Department of Defence Studies, University of Allahabad, Allahabad; Library of the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh; Tripura University Library, Agartala; Maharaja Bir Bikram College Library, Agartala; Bir Bikram Evening College Library, Agartala; Tripura Government Museum Library, Agartala; Birchandra State Public Library, Agartala; Authorities of the Tripura Palace, Agartala.

I Shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to Prof. D. D. Khanna, Head (Retd.), Deptt. of Defence Studies, University of Allahabad, Allahabad; Prof. A. N. Kakkar, Head, Deptt. of Defence Studies, University of Allahabad; Prof. Irfan Habib, Head, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh; Prof. Iqtidar Alam Khan, Deptt. of History, Aligarh Muslim University; Dr. B. P. Mukhopadhyaya, Reader Deptt. of English, M. B. B. College. Agartala; Sri S. K. Das, Readar Deptt. of History, B B. Evening Colleve, Agartala; Sri J. M. Das, Reader, B. B. Evening Colleve, Agartala; Sri S. K. Choudhury, Vice Principal M. B. B. College, Agartala; Dr. B. Mahanta, Reader Deptt. of Political Science, B. B. Evening College, Agartala; Dr. J. Gon Choudhury, Reader of Political Science, B. B. Evening College, Agartala; Dr. Smti Ratna Das, Curator, Govt. Museum, Agartala; Major P. Sensarma of Calcutta; Sri N. Dutta, Addl. Chief Engineer (P. W. D.) Govt. of Tripura; Sri O. S. Adhikari, Asstt. Controller, University of Calcutta; Sri Satyendra

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I am thankful to Directorate of Tribal Research, Govt. of Tripura, for publishing my thesis well and also thankful to Shri Goutam Das, M. D. Tripura Printer's & Publisher Pvt. Ltd. for extending his kind co-operation in this regard. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to Shri Sudip Datta Bhaumik who tried his utmost to compose the matter correctly.

With gratitude and deep respect I pay my homage to the departed soul, Late Dr. H. L. Chattarjee who was my supervisor at the early stage of the preparation of my dissertation.

And no word. I must admit, is good enough for me to express my heart-felt gratitude to Dr. Mahadev Chakravarti, Professor, Department of History, Tripura Univesity, Agartala, but for whose active and painstaking guidence and supervision at every stage, I would not have been able to complete my study with any amount of satisfaction.

DEBABRATA GOSWAMI

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

A. IMPORTANCE OF MILITARY HISTORY :

Military history, as the store-house of the accumulated knowledge of soldiers of all ages, is the embodiment of the traditions of the army. Its importance is great, for, as Napoleon once pointed out, the only way of learning the science of war is to read and re-read accounts of the compaigns of the great Captins. [1] Carl Von Clausewitz [2] observed that the study of military history is essential, so that each person in succession may not have to go through the same labour of clearing the ground and toiling through his subject, but may find the thing in order and light admitted on it' [3] The study of military history broadens a soldier's vision, tightens his grasp and equips him with the ability to tackle constantly changing situation of war. Field Marshal Montgomery in his book A history of War (London, 1968), mentioned that it is by the constant study of the theory of the science of war that a General can attain professional competency since the opportunity of practising the art of war comes very rarely in his way. That is why the great Commanders have always been serious students of military history. [4] T. E. Lawrence in his book Seven Pillars of Wisdom (New York, 1938), said, "We of the twentieth century have two thousand years' experience behind us, and if we still must fight we have no excuse for not fighting well". [5] He further thought that those who derided theory and regarded experience in trenches of value alone, were unrealistic.

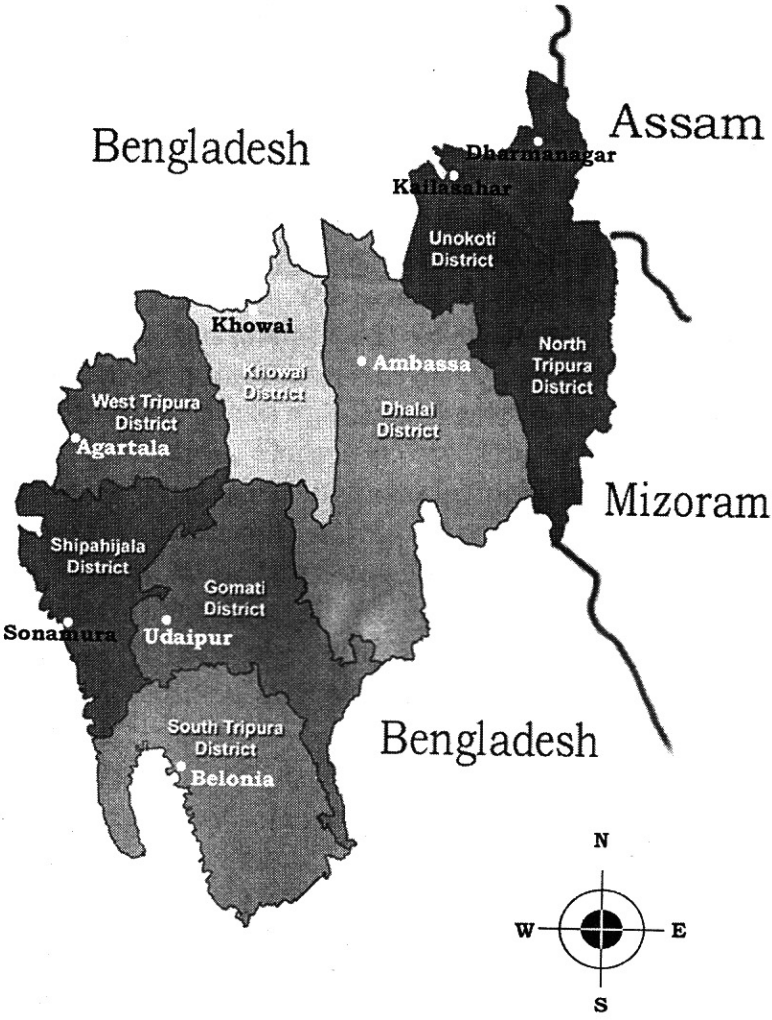
The armed forces of a country no longer function in isolation, but as an integral part of the nation. A study of the military history of a country or a nation helps understanding its geographical feature, level of technological development, administrative capability, military acumen, degree of social solidarity and the causes of its rise and fall. Recollection of the military history takes us back into the past. We can come to know where when and how our forefathers committed errors and also displayed valour. Thus knowledge of the past helps solving many present-day problems.

In the primitive community system according to Fredrick Engles which knew no social inequality or political relations between people, the army did not exist as a special armed force. At that time, Engels wrote, the armed institution directly coincided 'with the population organising itself as an armed force and self-acting'. [6] According to the Marxian interpretation when the State "emerged, as a result of the disintegration of the primitive communal system and society's split into opposing classes, the need arose for specially organised armed detachments, placed above society and called upon to suppress the exploited massess in the interests of the exploiting upper crust, and to wage wars of aggression". [7] It is therefore that Marx Wrote, "the history of the army brings out more clearly than anything else the correctness of our conception of the connection between the productive forces and social relations...." [8]

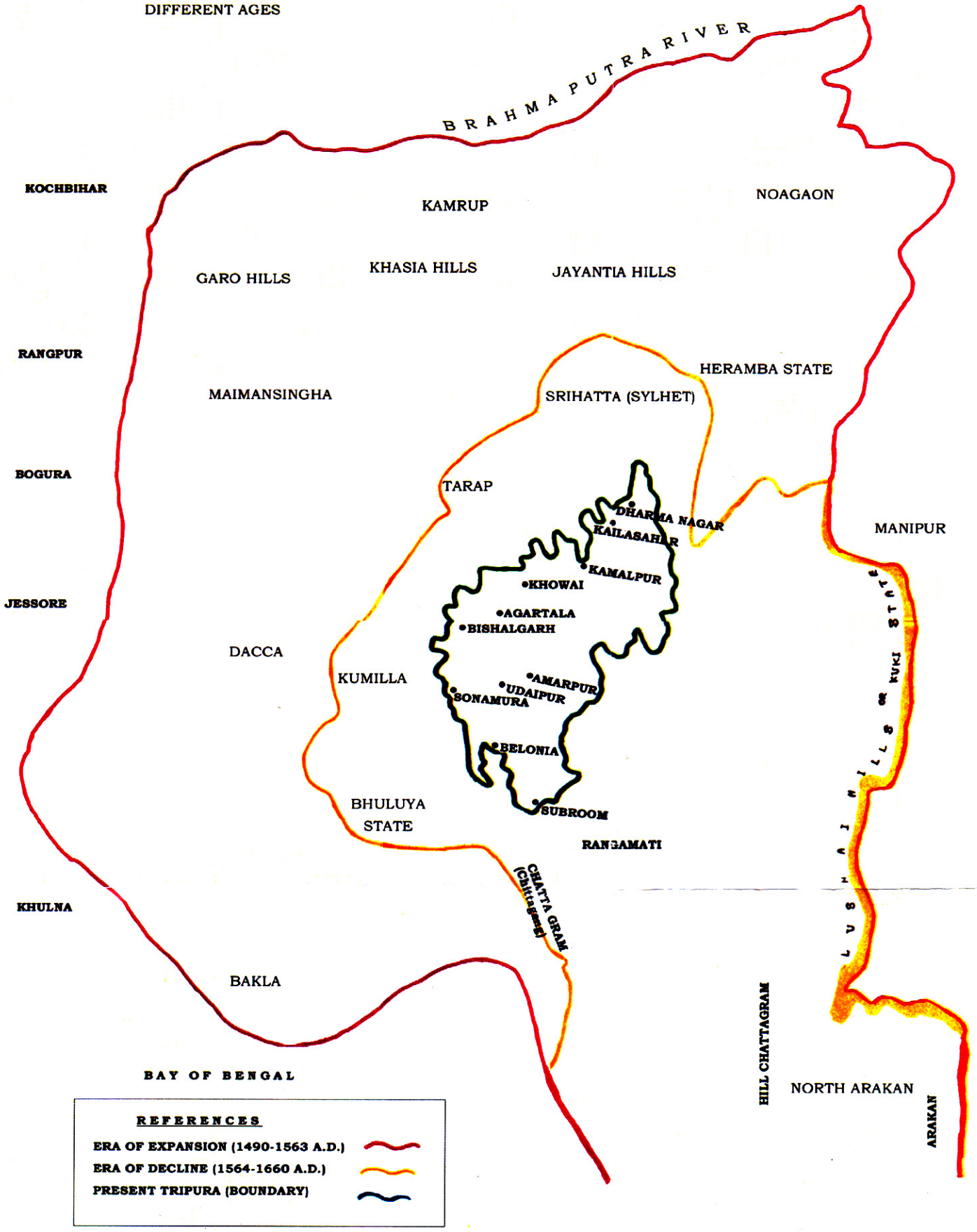
Thus we find that the study of military history has been claimed to be of great importance by both military Generals and social thinkers. The connection between productive

forces and social relations, however, does not fall within the scope of the present study which aims at tracing the military skill and acumen of the Tripura Kings. Since the world society, by and large, continues to remain classridden and therefore a scene of exploitation of the toiling masses by the upper class in which army happens to play not quite a mean role and since the armed forces continue to be deployed for occupation of the territory of one State by another, the study of military history may be claimed to have gained a greater importance through the ages to the students of military science, for, it has given a richer knowledge of warfare to the fighters of later ages by recording the strategy and tactics adopted by the Generals of previous ages in their battles.

Map-2 Present Tripura State



MAP-III
TRIPURA IN
DIFFERENT AGES



Map-3, Tripura in Defferent Ages

B. MILITARY GEOGRAPHY AND TRIPURA :

The term 'military geography', though a recent term, its principles were perhaps followed since the beginning of the written history. Xenophon's account of the march of the 10,000 across Asia Minor from 401 to 399 B. C., contained many examples of the use and abuse of these principles of military geography.[9]

Geography has been defined as science of the earth and all life upon it. Its scope is extremely wide. So, for assessment of warfare in a particular place, a broad knowledge of its geography is very essential. The major elements which are to be considered for this purpose are : location, climate, physiography etc. In this connection, the great historian Jadunath Sarkar opines that "terrain is the first cardinal factor in war for both strategy and tactics. Geography lays down some inexorable laws for the time and manner of conducting military operation ...." [10] Bhakri points out that, "every aspect of geopraphy affects military operations, strategy as well as tactics".[11] Sun Tzu, author of the world's eldest still existing military treatise also highlights in the China of confucius the importance of military geography when he says that "we are not fit to lead an army on the march unless we are familiar with the face of the country, the mountains and forests, its pitfalls".[12]

In the eighteenth century, master tactician Frederick The Great in his Instructions for his Generals advised that, "Knowledge of the country is to a General, what a rifle is to an infantry man and what the rules of arithmetic are to a geometrician". [13] Hence, the relevance of a study of the natural environment of Tripura, for the purposes of

a probe into its military history, is immense.

Referring to the geographical location of Tripura and its rulers, Rev. James Long makes the following remarks as early as 1850 :

"Its mountain fastness and lovely jungles enabled its Chieftains like the Welsh of former times, or the Hugenots of the Covennes, to maintain a spirit of resistance to intruders, and to preserve down to the last century, Hindu manners and customs uninfluenced by the control of Moslem propagandism. Its rulers pride themselves on being of the Lunar Race and in their descent from the chivalrous Kshetriya of Rajputana, whose lofty bearing and prowess have been immortalised by the pen of Todd and Chand. While in Bengal the tide of foreign invasion has swept away almost all the ancient Hindu Royal lines, the family of Bishnupur and Tripura have alone remained."[14]

B(i) Locational Significance :

Location is one of the important factors of geography. 'Where the place is', is certainly a vital element of milltary geography. It may be classified into two aspects : site and position which are complementary aspects of location.

Tripura, a land-locked State lies to the south-east of Assam and to the east of Bangladesh at present. Surrounded by international borders in three sides, and the remaining being adjacent to some part of Assam and Mizoram, the State of Tripura is located approximately

between latitudes 22.51' and 24.32' north and between longitudes 91.10' and 92.21' east. It spreads over an area of 10,491 sq. km. or 0.32% percent of the total area of India. The shape of the territory is irregular. Tripura is a curved strip of land measuring about 183.5 km. in length from north-east to west and 112.7 km. in width from south to north. By and large Tripura is a hilly terrain with predominance of forests and comparatively less areas as valleys.

Tripura is strategically important since it lies between the river valleys of Mayanmar Burma and the present Bangladesh. The present geographical limits of Tripura touch noth national and international boundaries. Bangladesh encircles it on three-fourth sides : on the north by the district of Sylhet, on the south by the districts of Noakhali and Chittagong and on the south-east by the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. Only one-fourth side is touched by the Indian Provinces of Assam and Mizoram. The border line between the former native State of Tipperah and the British Indian Province of Bengal was demarcated first in 1854 A. D. in accordance with the awards of two arbitrators, namely G. P. Leychester representing the British Government and W. F. Campbell representing the Raja of Hill Tipperah and this is still extant.[15]

It may be pointed out that at various times throughout the course of history, the ancient kings of the State carried their armies in victorious march through the enemy kingdoms and gained conquest and possession. It also happened that their march was contained by the enemy. The area was thus altered several times.

B (ii) Influence of Climate on Operation :

Climate and seasonal influence can never be overlooked. Is the winter rigorous or the summer intensely hot ? Does the heat of summer dry up the wells and streams ? Does it so diminish the rivers as to render them easily fordable ? Is there a rainy season that damages the transport and communication system and gives rise to unwholsome climate which is dangerous to health or life ? All these questions play an important role in operations, hence it is important to acquire knowledge on military geography, and of the concerned area.

The climate of Tripura is generally hot and humid with a fairly good amount of rainfall. The State experiences the monsoon which actually comes up from the Bay of Bengal in the south. The average annual rainfall is between 90^0 and 100^0 cm (see Table - I). The average annual maximum and minimum temperature ranges respectively from 35^0 centigrade to 10^0 centigrade. In December and January, the temperature sometimes falls down to 4^0 centigrade. The Principal seasons in the State are summer, monsoon, autumn, winter and spring. Summer is between March and May. Normally rain starts from April and continues upto September, but well-distributed rains are to be found during June to September. The pleasant Autumn has a short lease of life from October to early November and then comes Winter which continues upto January. Spring is brief and occures in the month of February. Hot season starts from February onwards to April.

TABLE - I.

AMOUNT OF RAIN FALL IN SOME SELECTED YEARS

YEAR	AVERAGE ANNUAL RAINFALL
1914	90.62 Cm.
1926	95.49 ,,
1929	106.01 ,,
1930	92.58 ,,
1941	99.78 ,,
1942	92.19 ,,
1947	94.70 ,,

Source : Bandyopadhayay, Suprasanna, (ed.) Tripura State Gazette Sankalan (1903-1949 A. D.). (inBengali), Education Department, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1971 PP. 444-468.

B(iii) Topography :

The military history of any country is largely influenced by its strategical topography of terrain. Hills or mountains, rivers, rugged paths help the defender and impose numerous obstacles to the invader.[16] Let us now study some of the leading topographical features of Tripura which may be affected in the movements of any army.

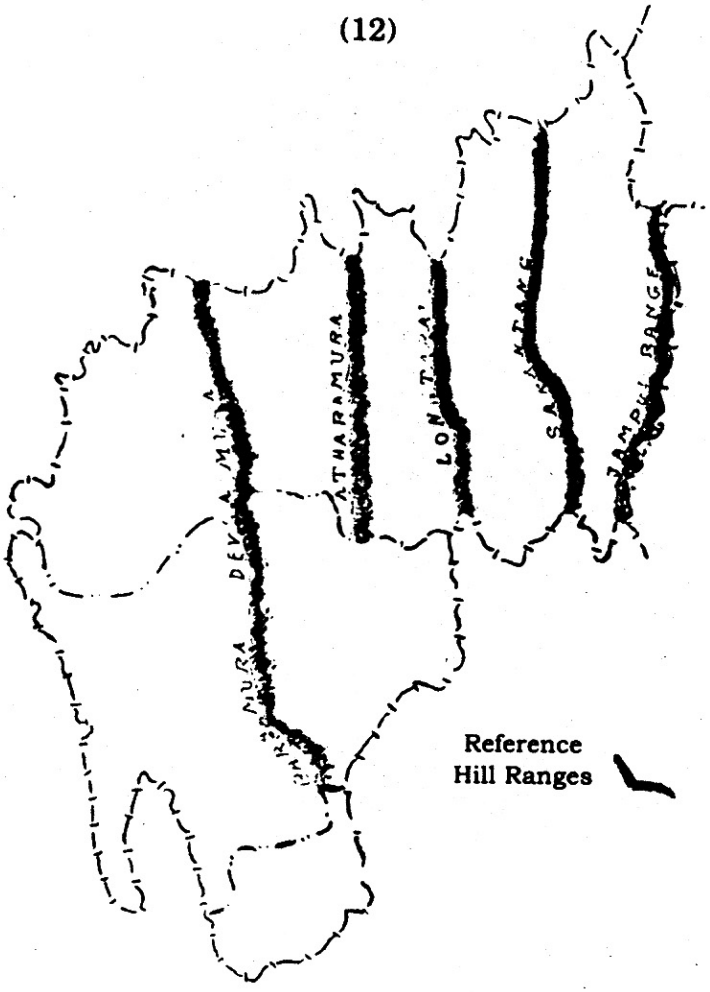
Effects of Hill Ranges :

Tripura has no mountain proper but numerous hillocks are there. There are few hill ranges situated in the north-eastern part of the State. They stand parallel to each other and each successive ranges of hills, increasing in height

gradually, run north to south with an average distance of 12 miles between two ranges. Each range as a whole is higher than the one on its west. And the altitudes vary between 50 to 2000 feet above the sea-level. The ranges are : the Jampui, Sakantang, Longtarai, Atharamura, Baramura and Devtamura. The hills are clothed with forests very similar in appearance and composition to those of Mizoram, Manipur, Assam and Hill tracts of Chittagong. The thick forests which clothe the hills provide shelter to wild animals.

The rugged topography gradually softens twards the west, the hill terrain giving place to the plains, the narrow gorges to wide valleys and the primeval forests to cultivated plants.

However, the physical features of the territory present exceptional difficulties for the development of communications. The deep forests, narrow gorges, ranges and numerous hillocks, spread almost all over the State, constitute an ideal and natural sanctuary for guerrilla warfare. The types of geographic environment in which guerrilla wars take place usually contain such thick forests, hill ranges, swamps, Jungles or a combination of these. [17] in this connection, the observation of Nasution needs special mention. According to him, the territory in which the guerrilla troops operate should consist of 'few highways, many mountains and hills, and if possible, forests and undergrowth' which are the hideouts for the guerrillas. [18] Taking advantage of the terrain of Tripura, we have many instances in modern history of different tribal revolts where the guerrilla tactics were followed, particularly



MAP- IV SOME HILL RANGES OF TRIPURA

during the communist movement after 1949. Guerrilla technique became very popular among the Tripura National Volunteer (T. N. V.) insurgents of the present day.

Influence of Rivers :

Rivers are the most important geographical features in regard to the movements of armies. The Knowledge of the rivers of Asia or Europe with reference to their importance in the event of war in the countries through which they respectively flow is a sine qua non to the right understanding of the strategical operations of several armies. It should, however, be pointed out that the importance of a river does not merely depend upon its position and character, but it is greatly modified by the season; thus, a river impassable in the rainy season may offer scarcely any obstacle in the summer or winter.[19]

In Tripura, there are a number of rivers which are neither broad nor deep enough for navigation. The rivers of the State are : the 'Gumti', 'Haora', 'Muhuri', 'Juri', 'Manu', 'Dhalai', Khowai', 'Deo', 'Buriganga' etc. The drainage is towards the south-west, the west and the north. All the rivers traverse Bangladesh before they fall into the Bay of Bengal. The steep descant, the zig-zag course, the narrow breadth and shallow surface of the rivers combined with heavy rainfall and the loose structure of the soil cause tremendous soil erosion and frequent floods. Most of the sluggish rivers of Tripura take to dangerous appearance during the rainy season. Thus, any military operation during the rainy season was very difficult in Tripura.

We have many instances in the military history of Tripura where rivers were used for war operation, particularly the demolition of embankment to wash away the enemy army as it was done during the days of Dhanya Manikya. (C. 1490-1520 A. D.).

TABLE - II

PRINCIPAL RIVERS OF TRIPURA WITH THEIR LENGTH AND CATCHMENT AREAS.

NAME OF THE RIVER	LENGTH IN KMs.	CATCHMENT AREA IN SQUARE KMs.
The Gumti	133	2492.28
The Haora	53	487.62
The Muhuri	64	1013.94
The Juri	79	482.46
The Manu	167	2278.14
The Dhalai	117	629.52
The Khowai	166	1328.70
The Deo	132	2278.14
The Buriganga	35	194.25

Source : Director of Land Records, Agartala, Tripura, Cf. Chatterjee, Surendra Nath, Tripura : A Profile, New Delhi, 1984, P. 10.

Effects of forest and Animal :

From the military point of view, it may be said that forests are important features on the surface of the earth. The art of concealment lies in making the best use of ground and forests.

As Tripura is situated within the monsoonal zone, there is luxuriant growth of bamboos, creepers, trees and various plants in which the several kinds occur together. A perennial verdure spreads almost all over the forests of the State. Forests form a predominent part of Tripura. The open and reserve forests cover about three-fourth of the total area of the State.[20]

Of the fauna, elephant deserves a particular mention. In the Tipperah hills, there were a large number of elephants. It may be pointed out that in ancient wars elephants were of vital importance in strengthening the military preparedness. The elephantry could offer stubborn resistence to the advancing enemy and could engage them so that the other arms could be withdrawn to safety. There is no denying of the fact that the invasion in Tripura occured a number of times with a view to compelling the kings to pay elephants as tributes.

The Muslim rulers of Bengal had shown interst in the affairs of Tripura presumably because the country was very rich in elephants. In the Ain-i-Akbari and Baharistan-i-Ghaybi, there are references of numerous elephants of Tripura. In the Tripura Buranji, or a chronicle of Tripura, as composed by Ratnakandali Sarma Kataki and Arjundas Bairagi kataki who had visited Tripura as agents of King Rudra Singha of Assam on three different occasions between the years 1709 and 1715 A. D., we have references of at least three wars, viz. Chhatra Manikya and Govinda Manikya, Narendra Manikya against Champakrai and Ghanashyam Barthakur against Ratna Manikya II, where elephants were used. In fact, elephants were indispensable in the medieval warfare of Tripura.

C. IMPORTANCE OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION :

The overall development of a country either big or small depends largely on its transport and communication system. So far as security of a country is concerned, its importance can hardly be denied because a disciplined army even equipped with sophisticated arms can not prove its worth in absence of proper transport and communication system, as directions of roads, narrow paths, forest ways, river ways and their nature etc. need special attention before detachments.

So far as the then transport and communication of Tripura is concerned, it may be said that such system was totally non existent and probably the rulers paid little attention to that effect. In support, the observation of Hunter needs special mention. According to him, "there are no roads worthy of the name in Hill Tipperah, the capital itself is almost cut off from the rest of the world for want of land communication, the route by water being only open in the rains." [21]

However, in hill areas, the 'Taitun' system [22] was introduced in the remote past, although the official reference of the same was first available in Tripura Act IV of 1919 A. D. [23] Under this system when the king or his officials moved into the hills, the hill people had to provide them with guides and labour for carrying the goods upto the next village. The later villages would follow the role of the former one by rotation and in this way the system continued.

Besides this, the other system called 'Foorai' [24] was in vogue in the Hill Tipperah. To convey any royal message or order, the king sent one Binandia (carriar of royal message) to the hills. The messenger carried a royal insignia made of iron called 'Foorai'. The order which was circulated by peresenting the 'Foorai', the hill men would have to carry instantly. Once a 'Foorai' reached the village, the villagers would themselves carry the same from village to village to announce the proclamation. Here, it may be mentioned that when the State was attacked by the enemy, the system 'Foorai' was specially used to circulate the news all over the State.

In addition, elephant was the only media of transport used specially in remote hilly areas having no road at all, for carrying hill products etc. from one place to another. [25]

In view of the peculiarity of location and topography, climatic condition, soil structure and resources of warfare mentioned above, it may be said that in the military history of Tripura neither artillery, nor armoured forces but infantry, cavalry and specially elephantry were to play a major role. It is true that in the 1971 war against pakistan, artillery and armoured forces were brought into operation on Tripura soil by the Indian army and those played an important role in defeating the enemy forces. But that was an operation of the recent days when the technical knowhow of warfare along with engineering skills to prepare roads and construct makeshift bridges had grown much more sophisticated than in yesterages. From the fifteenth century to the late nineteenth, the military operation of Tripura Kings had to rely heavily on only infantry, though there were scope to build up a really formidable elephantry unit.

D. EARLY MILITARY HISTORY OF TRIPURA

Although all ancient kingdoms were primarily military States and they maintained their existence on military achievements, [26] the early military history of Tripura is shrouded in mystery. Although the Tripura kings had engraved on the Royal seal, the motto : "Valour is the only essential thing", still we have only some legendary lores and mythologies regarding the valour and conquests of Druhya, Trilochana, Tripur Chandra, Biraj and others. We do not know how the proverbial egalitarian society of the tribal people of Tripura came to an end or how a social arrangement or system in which the persons of one status gave less to and took more from the persons of other status came into being among the tribals of Tripura or how the rulers emerged. The rulers of Tripura were at first known as 'Fa' and, according to legends 'Tribeg', 'Kirat Bhumi' etc. were but other names of 'Tripura'. It is believed that the title of 'Fa' was first adopted by Niladhwaja the 73rd ruler of Tripura, [27] and it remained so till the 'Manikya' appellation was conferred on Ratna Fa by Tughrol Khan in 1279 A. D. [28] Every page of Rajamala gives a glowing account of the martial prowess of the kings of early Tripura, but from historical records it is difficult to find out the numerical strength of the Tripura army. [29]

Regarding the antiquity of Tripura, shape and its extent, opinions differ. Although the Rajamala and the court pundits once tried to prove that Tripura once extended even upto the Bay of Bengal, it was D. C. Sircar [30] who pointed out that "the attempt to prove the antiquity of the Tripura State from Epic and Puranic reference to a locality called Tripura or Tripuri is absolutely unwanted. This

ancient Tripuri is the modern Tewar near Jabbulpur in the Madhya Pradesh".

However, the dynasty which ruled Tripura for centuries claimed descent from a legendary figure 'Druhya' of the Lunar dynasty who was said to have migrated at his royal father's behest to the trans-Gangetic country occupied by the co-called 'Kiratas' and established his first capital in the island of Sagar on the confluence of the Bhagirathi and the sea, around which soon sprang up the nucleus of a prosperous kingdom. As the conquests of Druhya and his successors proceeded eastwards, the seat of Government, according to Rajamala, was removed to the bank of the 'Kapila' (old Brahmaputra) and both capital and kingdom came to be renamed 'Tribeg' after the river trijunction on which the new capital stood. To king Tripur, the 40th in descent from Druhya, is ascribed the change of the name of kingdom to 'Tripura ! [31]

The task of consolidation of the growing kingdom involved the rulers of Tripura in active conflict, not only with the neighbouring kings of Kamrup, Cachar, Arakan and Rangamati, but with the rulers of Gour across the Ganges and a remarkable episode of which was the rout of the invading forces of Gour in a bloody battle by the defending armies of Tripura, led personally by it heroic queen, Tripura Sundari, in disregard of her husband, King Changthung Pha/Singhatunga's (alias Kiritidhar's) eagerness to sue for peace. [32] This discomfiture of Gour, according to popular belief, was partially retrieved when in 1279 A. D. Tughril Khan, the Pathan 'Malik' of Gour, assisted Ratna Fa, the founder of the subsequent ruling dynasty of Tippera, in etablishing the latter's claim to the

throne in supersession of his elder brother Raja Fa and bestowed on Ratna Fa in exchange for the friendly present of a rare gem ('manik'), the title of 'Manikya', which the rulers of Tripura inherited upto the last one. [33] During the reign of Pratap Manikya, the son of Ratna Manikya, as the capital of Bengal was transferred to Subarnagram, the Muslim rulers of Bengal came into closer touch with Tripura and in 1347 A.D., according to A. C. Bhattacharyya, "Samsuddin, the Pathan Sultan, invaded Tripura and took away as booty some elephants and money. Mahommedan historians have with pride mentioned this as a conquest of Tripura but it seems to be an exaggeration pure and simple". [34]

It is said that the most noteworthy event of the reign of Dharma Manikya (c. 1431-1462 A.D.) was "his invasion of Bengal under Sultan Abul Mujahed Ahmed Shah and the plunder of Subarnagram, the capital of the Nawab.

About this time Mengchu Muang, the ruler of Arakan, was dethroaned by the king of Burmah and took refuge at the Court of Tripura. Dharma Manikya helped him with men and money and got him reinstated". [35]

Dhanya Manikya, who ascended the throne of Tripura in 1490 A. D., used the title 'Vijayindra' (conqueror) in a coin issued by him in 1506 A. D. [36] The details of the war of Dhanya Manikya (c. 1490-1520 A. D.) against Hussain Shah, Nawab of Bengal and other rulers of Tripura are given in the Chapter 'Art and Tactics of conducting Different Battles'.

The kingdom of Tripura made conquests and gained or

regained possessions from time to time which extended its territories, according to official claim, from "the Sundarbans and the sea in the west and south, to Kamrup in the north and Burma in the east." [37] According to an unpublished document, [38] the military prestige of Tripura was at its height in the sixteenth century and rose to the zenith [39] during the reign of Vijay Manikya (c. 1532-1563 A. D.), a contemporary of the Mughal emperor Akbar; and the Ain-i-Akbari refers to him as an independent king of Tripura. [40] A century of struggle and conflict thereafter ensued with the Muslim rulers, but it was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Mughals could obtain a footing in Tripura.

A further century of strife followed when during the reign of Dharma Manikya II (Durjyodhan. c. 1713-29 A. D.) in the eighteenth century, Jagat Roy, a descendent of Chhatra Manikya rose in rebellion and secured the help of Naib Nazim of Dacca who captured the populous plains in the south-western parts of the kingdom and declared Jagat Roy as king of 'Roshnabad' as he designated the area conquered. Dharma Manikya II removed to the Hill sections and ultimately agreed to hold Roshnabad as a Zamindary under the Nawab of Murshidabad on a nominal Jama of Rs. 5,000/- a year. [41]

The result was that the hill sections of the kingdom with its capital gradually changed from Amarpur to Udaypur and finally to Agartala, [42] while Roashnabad (now in Bangladesh) continued to be held by the rulers of Tripura as a Zamindary going with the State, which covered an area roughly of 650 square miles spread over

the British Indian Districts of Tripperah, Noakhali and Sylhet and in the words of the Imperial Gazetteer of India. "It yields a larger revenue than the whole of Hill Tippera, and it is held to form with the State an indivisible Raj".[43] Thus the rulers of Tripura enjoyed the twin positions, the king of Hill Tipperah and Zamindar of Chakla Roshnabad. On the advent of the British in 1765 A. D. they accepted that position and first recognised the hill sections as 'independent' under the designation of 'Independent Tipperah'. Cumming points out that although the Chakla Roshnabad was within the British territory, still "unlike so many of the Bengal Zamindaries, the estate had escaped sale on account of default of paying Government revenue, not withstanding the difficulties of succession".[44]

E. TRIPURA SUBSEQUENT TO BRITISH CONNECTION :

The connection of the British with Tripura commenced through the zamindary of Chakla Roshnabad as the English East India Company came to be in possession of Chakla Chittagong under grants from Nawab Mirzafar and Mirqasim after Siraj-ud-daullah's fall in 1757 A. D., which was ultimately included and confirmed in the Imperial Firman of Dewani granted to the Company by Emperor Shah Alam in 1765 A. D.

The administration of Chakla roshnabad and attempts at its incorporation (under the denomination of Jela Roshnabead Sarkar Udaipur) in the system of Rent rolls introduced in Bengal during Emperor Shahjahan's time on the basis of the earlier Rent Rolls introduced by Todarmal, led to complications, and in 1761 the Faujdar of Dacca came into clash with Krishna Manikya (1760-1783 A. D.) and sought the help of Vansittart, [45] the governor of Bengal, who readily deputed a force which Krishna Manikya of Tripura met at Kailagarh on the boundary between Tripura and Chakla Roshnabad experiencing, however, a reverse.

"The first few years of the rule of Krishna Manikya" in the words of A. C. Bhattacharyya, "saw him involved in quarrels not only with their old foe, the Nawab of Bengal, but also with the English who were daily growing into a power both politically and commercially. Chakla Roshanabad was the bone of contention this time. The Fauzdar of the Nawab, diffident as he was of success in a fresh trial of strength with Tripura, sought the help of the English and Governor

Vansittart was not slow to avail himself of this golden opportunity of extending their power towards Chittagong. In February 1761 A. D. Mathew, the officer Commanding in Chittangong marched against the King of Tripura who was fully prepared to meet them on the fort of Kailargarh near the present Kamalasagar Station in the A. B. Railway. But by the machination of a traitor Bakshi, the soldiers of Tripura grew panic-stricken and the result was that before the armies came face to face most of them fled away. Thus without any fight, the English flag was hoisted over the plains of Tripura within four years of their acceptance of the Dewani of Bengal". [46]

Vansittart wrote to the President and Councile of the Factory of Chittagong (Islambad) on 20 January, 1761 the following :

"With regard to the Tipperah Rajah, as the Nawab's Foujdar has been obliged from his ill behaviour to take up arms against him, we desire that you will use your endeavours to reduce him to his due state of obedience to the Government of Islambad, acquainting us then what advantages may accrue to the Company from the possession of that country". [47] Thus, the East India company also had the design to reduce the Raja of Tripura to 'obedience'. At the same time also Shamser Gazi (1748-1760 A. D.) of Meherkul rose in rebellion and declared himself 'King of Roshnabad' and even went to the length of raiding and occupying for the time being Udaipur, the capital of Tripura. [48]

Krishna Manikya soon marched on the capital, recovered it and seized the usurper who was sent to the Nawab of Bengal and was shot down dead at Murshidabad, though the internal trouble in Roshnabad continued for sometime till quiet was restored in 1765 A. D., when Krishna Manikya

assumed full control of the administration of the Zamindary. [49]

After the death of Krishna Manikya, disputes about succession again cropped up as Krishna Manikya had left no sons, and his wife Rani janhabi Davi (1783-1785 A. D.) assumed charge of the administration both of the State and the Zamindary of Chakla Roshnabad, and on her nomination Rajdhar Manikya (1785-1804 A. D.) who ultimately succeeded in the State came to be recognised in Roshnabad. [50] Rajdhar's death also led to disputes about succession when Ramganga instituted a suit for declaration of his title to Roshnabad in the British Indian 'Sadar Diwani Adalat' which in 1809 A. D. decided that the zamindary of Roshnabad was an appanage of the State and British Courts had no jurisdiction to decide questions of succession to it. [51] Similar decision had since followed and the highest courts in British India had thrown up cases including decisions about successions to the Zamindary of Roshnabad as beyond their jurisdiction. All these verdicts of the British courts were important sources to determine the exact nature of relations between the British Paramountcy and the Tripura Durbar. Ram Ganga Manikya rendered all possible help to the English when the First Burmah War broke out. [52] In 1836, at the time of Krishna Kishore Manikya (1829-49 A. D.), on the report of the then Commissioner of Chittagong, there was a proposal to annex Tripura. But Lord Auckland, the then Governor-General of India, turned down the proposal and recognised the 'independence' of Tripura in his letter to the Commissioner of Chittagong, dated 27 December 1838. [53]

Although the Zamindary of Chakla roshnabad was the bone of contention and not the Tripura State proper, still the British gradually came to be recognised as the ultimate paramount power in their relations with the State of Tripura.

As a result there was no scope of military conflict between the two as the rulers of Tripura had no such strength and courage to measure their swords with the paramount authority. In the famous 'Dampiere Correspondence', [54] it is admitted by the Governor-General that British paramountcy was not the result of conquest, but it was due to the high political position gradually achieved by the British in India which attracted surrounding sovereign States to flock round the new power - a phenomenon also to be found in India before the advent of the British. The name of the State continued to be 'Independent Tipperah' till 1866 when it was changed to 'Hill Tipperah' by the Government of India [55] but on the appeal of the Tripura Durbar, the ancient name of 'Tripura' or 'Tripura State' had again been adopted. The question of succession to the State with its appanages had been set at rest by the grant to the rulers of Tripura of a Sanad dated 21st June 1904 by Lord Ampthill as representative of the Crown. [56]

The rulers of Tripura paid no tribute and the British Government had no treaty with the Durbar and the rulers of Tripura enjoyed internal sovereignty with full powers of Legislation and imposition of even capital punishments on subjects in exercise of territorial Jurisdiction.[57] The rulers of Tripura enjoyed a permanent salute of 13 guns since 1867 and had been members of the Chamber of Princes on their own right, since its inauguration. [58] In 1919 the title of 'Maharaja' as a hereditary distinction was conferred on Birendra Kishore Manikya (1909-1923 A.D.) and since then all the rulers of Tripura enjoyed the title as personal distinction. In the words of Sandys, [59] Birendra Kishore "was installed on the throne by His Honour Sir Lancelot Hare, the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam on behalf of His Excallency, the Vicery and Governor-General of India on the 25th November, 1909 !"

F. WAR ACTIVITIES OF TRIPURA AFTER BRITISH CONNECTION :

We may broadly divide the war services of Tripura into following categories :

1. The assistance rendered to the British Government during the great revolt of 1857 by Isan Chandra Manikya (1850-1862A. D.) who not only declined to be influenced by the approaches of the mutineers from Chittagong for help but promptly sent detachment of State Forces to Co-operate with the British forces in putting them down. Webster [60] gives a detailed picture how in November 1857 "a panic was caused temporarily by the news that three Companies of mutineers from Chittagong were marching northwards through Hill Tipperah" and how the Raja ultimately stopped the march of the mutineers. But the British rulers were not convinced of Isan Chandra's stand and there was a lot of debate later on regarding the exact attitude of Isan Chandra towards the mutineers. [61] Kailash Chandra singha points out how the British officials being suspected of Isan Chandra's complicity with the Sepoys were taking steps to arrest him; but it was Metcalfe, the Judge, who refrained the British authorities to take such a rash action. [62] "Thus Tripura", in the words of Tripura District Gazetteers, [63] "was saved from being annexed to British territory". [64]

2. Lord Mayo the Governor-General of India appointed a Political Agent in Tripura in 1871 for the suppressions of the Kukis in the Lushai Hills. [65] In the second phase we have the activities during the Lushai expedition in 1871 A. D. of Maharaja Bir Chandra Manikya (1862-1896 A. D.)

who accepted readily the arrangement for a division of the sphere of defence between the Government of India and the Tripura Durbar by an inner line laid down through what was at the time Tripura territory, and set-up a chain of well-named pickets and guard posts along the boundary alloted to him. [66]

3. The third phase is marked by the activities during the World War I of Maharaja Birendra Kishore Manikya (1909-1923 A. D.) who fully co-operated with the British Government by vigorous measures for recruitment and substantial contributions to various war purposes and soldiers' welfare funds including large payments made towards the general expenses of the war to 'His Majesty's Home Government' and the Government of India - the whole coming up roughly to the total of three lakhs.[67]

4. In 1930 'The First Tripura Bir Company' was recognised by the Government of India as an 'A' class unit of the India States forces. [68] The activities during the World War II of Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya (1923-1947 A. D.) was awarded the title Lieutenant Colonel, G. B. E., K. C. S. I., by the British. Bir Bikram's activities towards the success of allied cause in the World War II, covering a complete reorganisation of the State forces and organisation and raising of new units for reinforcement, garrison duty, training, guerrilla warfare as well as the manning of a chain of picket posts established throughout the State border and beyond, the total strength of the forces employed thus came up roughly to 5,000, - were acclaimed as 'outstanding' even by the British rulers. [69] In fact, the army units of Tripura fought with conspicuous bravery in the Burma and Arakan front and earned

distinction receiving honours and rewards.

Bir Bikram's Government contributed substantially to war funds and invested large amounts in war bonds aggregating to about seven lakhs, while the expenditure incurred for extra military personnel and incidental matters stood at about twelve lakhs and the money value of contributions in kind consisting of huge quantities of building and road materials, bamboos, timber and other forest produce was comiderable. In fact, the World War II was a total war, and Tripura, with its limited means, participated that war totally.

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1. Cf. Pal, Dharm, Traditions of the Indian Army, New Delhi, 1978, P. 129
2. Carl Von Clausewitz (1780-1830) joined the Prussian army at the age of 12, played an important part in the reform after Jena (1806), served with the Russian army in 1812, in the battle of Waterloo as staff officer and was Director of the Prussian War School (1818-1830).
3. Cf. Bhakari, Major S. K. Indian Warfare, New Delhi, 1981, P. XI
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., PP-XI-XII
6. Engels, Fredrick, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, in Marx, karl and Engels, Fredrick, Selected Works, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, P. 327.
7. Dolgopolov, Yeveny, The Army and the Revolutionary Transformation of Society, Moscow, 1981, P. 9.
8. Cf. Dolgopolov, Yeveny, Ibid., P. 8. (Marx, Engels, Selected Correspondence, Moscow, 1965, P. 97.)
9. Cf. Das, S. T., Tactical Military Operations, Vol. I, New Delhi

1972, P. 9 ; Rouse, W. H. D., The March Up Country. (mentor Classic MD 278). Translation of Xenophon's Anabasis.

10. Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, Military History of India, New Delhi, 1970, PP. 1-2.
11. Bhakari, Major S. K., Op. cit., P. 2
12. Cf. Das, S. T. Studies in Defence Strategy, New Delhi, 1978, P. 13.
13. Loc. cit.
14. Rev. James Long, 'Analysis of Rajamala' in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol XIX, Calcutta, 1850, P. 3.
15. See Tripura State Memorandum for the Indian States Enguiry Committee (Financial) 1932, No. 2, Agartala, Govt. of Tripura, Appendices to Exhibit B.
16. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, The Military Despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General, Calcutta, 1969, P. 136.
17. Osanka, Franklin Mark, "Guerrilla Warfare", in, Sills, David, L., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 7, London, Reprint Edition 1972, P. 503.
18. Nasution, Abdul Haris, Fundamentals of Guerrilla Warfare, New Delhi, Indian Reprint, P. 45.
19. Das, S. T. Op. cit., P. 60.
20. Menon, K. D. (ed.), Tripura District Gazetteers, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1975, P. 4.
21. Hunter, W. W., A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. VI, Delhi, 1973, P. 507
22. Tripura State Gazette Sankalan, (in Bengali), Director of Education, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1971, P. 34
23. Cf. Menon, K. D., Op. cit., P. 218
24. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Sri Rajamala, (in Bengali), Vol. II, Agartala, 1337 T. E. (1927 A. D.), P. 172.
25. Menon, K. D. Op. cit., P. 219.
26. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Progressive Tripura, Calcutta, 1930, P. 105.

27. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Rajamala (in Bengali), Comilla, 1896, Part II, Chapter 3, P. 30 (See New Edition 1984, Agartala, Edited by Chakravarti, Mahadev, etal., Vol. I, P. 69); Choudhury, Acchuta Charan, Srihatter Itibritta (in Bengali), Vol. II, Part I, P. 75; Bhuyan, S. K., (ed), Tripura Buranji, Gouhati, 1938, Introduction, PP. IX-XI.

28. Singha, Kailash Chandra, op.cit., Part II, Chapter 3, PP. 28-30 (See New Edition 1984, Vol. I, PP. 68-69); Sircar, D. C., Some Epigraphic Records of the Medieval Period From Eastern India, Delhi, 1979, PP. 92-96.

29. Bhattacharyya, A. C. Op. cit., P. 105;

We have some fictitious number of army in different accounts. Even A. C. Bhattacharyya was not hesitant to write in the following way:

"From the Rajamala it would appear that every male person had to go under military discipline and had to attend the Royal Palace clad in arms whenever the occasion was signalised by beat of drums. Similarly, when a neighbouring kingdom was conquered, its male inhabitants were also enlisted in the army. The Tripura army consisted of every able-bodied youngman. The numerical strength of the army, therefore, varied according as the boundaries of the kingdom expanded or diminished. Dakshmin, the 48th lineal descendant of Druhu, collected as many as 50,000 soldiers. He made ten divisions of them and placed each of his ten brothers in command of 5,000. It is morever narated that king Dakshmin had, in addition, under his command many Kirat soldiers. That the Army of the Tripura kingdom was a huge one would appear from the fact that the queen of king Chhengthum Fa met and defeated three lakhs of soldiers sent by the king of Gour. The Army Department was organised during the reign of King Bijaya Manikya. It is narated in Rajamala That an expedition consisting of 5,000 boats, 26,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, artillery and archers was sent against Bengal by King Bijay Mankya. Every boat of his navy had five archers. Abul Fazl, the historian of the Ain-i-Akbari writes :

"Adjacent to the province of Bhati, there is an independent kingdom. It is called Tripura. The name of its king is Bijaya Manikya. This king has two lakhs of infantry and one thousand elephants".

Rev. J. Long writes about this expedition : "At this time Vijaya

Raja of Tripura marched to Bengal with an army composed of 26,000 infantry and 3,000 horses, besides artillery. He went by 5,000 boats along the streams of Brahmaputra and Lakhi to the Padma."

Tripura Raj genealogical table has it that Bijaya Manikya organised a mercenary infantry of 10,000, Pathans and had also under his command 1,000 elephants. This goes to show that he was in no way inferior to the King of Bengal in military strength."

- Bhattacharyya, A. C. Op. cit., PP. 105-106.

30. 'Copper-plate Inscription of the Time of King Vijay Manikya of Tripura' in the Journal of the Asiatic society of Bengal, Vol. XVII (2), 1951, PP. 80-81;

Regarding the original home of the Tripuris, see Barua, B. K., A Cultural History of Assam, 1st ed., Vol. I, Gouhati, 1969, PP. 6-7;

It is interesting to read Suniti Kumar Chartterji who, in his Kirata-Jana-Krti (Calcutta, 1974, PP. 45-46), classified the Tripuris under the Indo-Mongoloid groups and linguistically closer to the Bodos. In the words of Chatterji : "The Bodos, who spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley and North Bengal as well as East Bengal, forming a solid bloc in North Eastern India, were the most important Indo-Mongoloid people in Eastern India, and they form one of the main bases of the present day population of these tracts ..... From Nowgong District in Assam their area of occupation extended to Cachar District (particularly in the North Cachar Hills) and into Sylhet, and from Cachar and sylhet they moved further to the South, to Tripura State, where there is still a Bodo-speaking bloc in the shape of the Tipra tribe which founded the State, and from Tripura they spread into Comilla and possibly also Noakhali Districts : and thus they occupied the mouth of the Ganges by the eastern sea".

31. 'Appendix to Analysis of Rajamala by Rev. James Long' in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal 1850, Vol. XIX, Calcutta; See also Roychoudhury, N. R., Tripura Through The Ages, Agartala, 1977, PP. 7, 18.

32. Singha, Kailash Chandra, op. cit., Part-II, Chapter 2, PP. 23-24 (New Edition 1984, Vol. I, PP. 62-63); Majumdar, R. C., Bangla Desher Itihash (in Bengali), Vol. II, Calcutta, 1973,

P. 486;

"King Chhengthum Fa or Kirtidhar" to quote A. C. Bhattacharyya, "is the 21st ruler after Jangefa. the most noticeable event during his reign is the annexation of Meherkul by his queen who inflicted a heavy defect on the king of Gour to whose territory it belonged. Hirabant Khan, a ruler under Chhengthum Fa, took over charge of the government of Meherkul from the King of Gour on payment of a boat-load of riches. This enraged king Chhengthum Fa who annexed the province to his kingdom. When this was brought to the notice of the king of Gour, a large army was despatched immediately for the punishment of the Tripura Raj. Chhengthum Fa got terrified and was about to negotiate a humiliating treaty. But queen Tripura Sundari following in the foot-steps of many other Indian heroines at critical junctures appeared on the scene and drove away the invading forces from Meherkul. According to Sanskrit Rajamala this furious battle was fought with the Emperor of Delhi, but no mention is to be found of the name either of the king of Gour or of the Emperor of Delhi. Pandit kali Prasanna Sen Vidyabhushan after making a comparative study of different historical works has concluded that the battle of Meherkul was fought in the year 1280 A. D. with Keshab Sen, the then king of Gour.

Chhengthum Fa died soon after the victorious battle of Meherkul and was followed by Achang (Raja Surya), Khichung(Mohan) and Dangar Fa (Hari Roy).

From this time on-words the kings of Tripura came into frequent clash with the Mahomedan rulers of Gour, one of whom played the important part of giving shelter to a refugee Tripura Prince named Ratna Fa.

- Bhattacharyya, A. C., op. cit., PP. 15-16

33. Bhuyan, S. K., op. cit., P. 35; Qanungo, K. R., Bengal under the House of Balban", in, Sarkar, Jadunath, (ed.) The History of Bengal, Muslim Period 1200-1757, Patna, 1973, P. 59; Bhattacharyya, A. C. op. cit., P. 16.

34. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Ibid., PP. 16-17

35. Ibid., PP. 18-19

36. See the coin in Chapter 'Art and Tactics of Conducting Different Battles'.

37. See Tripura State Memorandum for the Indian States Enquiry Committee (Finance), No. 2, Agartala, 1932, Exhibit A-D, Appendix; Sur, H. K., British Relations with the State of Tripura 1760-1947, Agartala, 1986, PP. 148-149, 158.

38. B-62/S-25/1937 A.D./Political/Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala.

39. Rajamala (Bangiya Sahitya Parished Manuscript Version) Education Directorate, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1967, PP. 38-40.

40. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II. (Translated and Edited by Jerret H. S.), Calcutta, 1942, P. 130.

41. See Sarkar, Jadunath, (ed.), History of Bengal, Vol. II, Dacca, 1948, PP. 425-426; Rajamala, (Education Directorate), Op. cit., PP. 86-87; See also Stewart. C., History of Bengal, ,1st Edition, Calcutta, 1903, P. 485.

42. Bhattacharjee, Apurba Chandra (ed.), Chunta Prakash, (in Bengali), Calcutta, Extraordinary Issue, 16th January, 1929, P. 11.

43. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIII, London, 1908, P. 119.

A. C. Bhattacharyya. in his Progressive Tripura (Calcutta, 1930. PP. 26-27), has pointed the picture of fall since the days of Dharma Manikya II in this way :

"The Kingdom of Tripura fell from its position of glory during the time of Dharma Manikya, the Second, when one Jagat Roy, a descendant of King Chhatra Manikya, rebelled against the throne and with the help of the Nayeb Nazim of Dacca attacked Tripura. The king in utter helplessness at this unexpected attack fled to the hills and Jagat Roy was declared king of the plains which was named Roshnabad or the "Land of Light" by the victorious Mahomedans. Dharma Manikya in despair appealed to Nawab Sujauddin of Mursidabad who granted him the Zamindari right of the Parganah of Roshnabad on a yearly rent of Rs. 5,000/-. Since then the kings of Tripura have been in possession of Roshnabad as Zamindars.

European historians have referred to this development in the following words :

"The Province of Tippera, which from time immemorial had

been an independent Kingdom, became annexed to the Mughul Empire". (Stewart's History of Bengal P. 267)

But our view of the matter is that this did not mean the loss of independent status so far as the Hill Territory of Tripura is concerned. It was only the portion to the west and south of the present district of British Tippera that was converted into the Zemindari of Roshnabad.

The King of Manipur availed himself of this crisis in Tripura, crossed the northern frontiers and occupied a portion. In order to perpetuate this great achievement the king of Manipur took the title of "Takhelanamba" or the Victor of Tripura and also got a book written named "Takhelongnomba" or the conquest of Tripura".

The military history of Tripura since the days of Dhanya Manikya is the history of a tedious and interminable war with the rulers of Bengal and in most cases the Manikya Kings faced the reverse.

44. Cumming, J. G. Survey and Settlement of the Chakla Roshnabad Estate in the District of Tippera and Noakhali, S hillong, 1907, P. 65 (Para 122).

45. See Vansittart, Henry, A Narrative of Transactions in Bengal from the year 1760 to the year 1764, during the Government of Mr. Henry Vansittart, Vol. III, London, 1764, PP. 131, 228-233.

46. Bhattacharyya, A. C. Op. cit. Pp. 29-30.

47. Cf. Mackenzie, Alexander, The North East Frontier of India, Delhi, 1979, P. 271.

48. Singha, Kailash Chancra, Op. cit., Part II, Chapter 10, PP. 121-126 (New edition, 1984, Vol. I, PP. 128-130; Gazinama (in Bengali), A Biography of Shamaser Gazi by Saikh Manohar.

49. Sengupta, kaliprasanna, Panchya Manikya (in Bengali), Agartala, 1351 T. E. (1941 A. D.) PP. 74-76.

50. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Op. cit., Part. II, Chaptar 12, PP. 137-140, (New Edition, 1984, Vol. I, PP. 138-139.)

51. Mackenzie, Alexander, Op. cit., P. 274.

52. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Op. cit., PP. 32-33.

53. Ibid., P. 34

54. Mackenzie, Alexander, Op. cit., PP. 405-407. (Vide Appendix D).

55. Aitchison, C. V., A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads, Vol. I, 1862, P. 77.

56. See Appendix - 'A'.

57. Even Alexander Mackenzie (The North East Frontier of India, P. 272) admits that "for many years the Rajahs (of Tripura) were a more absolute monarch than the Scindia or Puttiale".

58. See Nabinchandra Sen Rachanabali (Amar Jiban), (in Bengali), Vol. II, Bangiya Sahytya Parishad, Calcutta, 1959, PP. 507-508.

59. Sandys, E. F. History of Tripura, Calcutta, 1915, P. 156.

60. Wepster, J. E., Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers (Tipperah), 1910, P. 19ff.

"When the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in the year 1857" to quote A. C. Bhattacharyya, "Maharaja Ishan Chandra Manikya instead of participating in anti-British activites helped them in all possible ways. The sepoys of Chittagong were not given the help they sought. They were forbidden to enter his territory, while a detachment was despatched in aid of the British".

- Bhattacharyya, A. C. Op. cit., P. 35

61. Chaudhury, S. B., `1857 O Tripura' in Parichaya (a Bengali Journal), Calcutta, 27th yr. (Sepoy Mutiny number), PP. 42-45; see Tripura Prasanga (in Bengali), Directorate of Public Relations and Tourism, Govt. of Tripura, May, 1975 for the same; Hunter, W. W., A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. VI, (Indian Reprint), New Delhi, 1973, P. 468.

62. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Op. cit., Part II, Chapter 15, P. 170 (New Edition, Vol. I, P. 157).

63. Menon, K. D., (ed.) Op. cit., P. 107

64. See Buckland, C. E. Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1901, PP. 151-152.

65. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Op. cit., P. 36.

66. Mackenzie, Alexander, Op. cit., PP. 310, 362-365; See also Woodthrope, R. G., The Lushai Expedition 1871-72; Shakespeare; Lt. Col. J., Lushai Kuki Clans, for a detailed description. See also Sur. H. K., Op. cit., PP. 146, 152.

67. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Op. cit., PP. 57-58; see also Report on the General Administration of the Trippera State for the year 1919-20, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, P. 2 (Para 8).

68. Report of the General Administration of the Tripura State for the year 1929-30, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala P. 9. (Para 43).

69. See 'War Supplement to the Tripura State Gazett, January 14, 1942; December 1, 1942; April 24. 1943; June 30, 1943 in Tripura State Gazette Sankalan (in Bengali), Directorate of Education, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1971, PP. 415-420. See Appendix- 'L'.

CHAPTER - II

MILITARY INSTITUTIONS, ORGANISATION AND PREPARATION FOR WAR

A. MILITARY INSTITUTIONS :

The army is the main armed institution of the state; it is an element of society's political structure and an instrument of the internal and external policy pursued by the dominant classes. The influence of the socio- political set- up is seen in the nature and aims of the army -- its composition, recruitment and training methods. It is said that the nature and structure of any army reflect the aspirations of a nation. On the other hand, it is subject to control and also controls the economy of a country to a large extent. A huge military budget emaciates other branches, and it is at all possible only in a developed and stable economy.

A(i). System of Recruitment in the Army :

The early Indian literature deals with the subject of recruitment of the army. The then military profession was restricted to a special class or cast i.e. the ' Kshatriyas'.In the Vedic period 'Kshatiyas' normally adopted the military career'. [1] But it should, however, be mentioned that besides Kshatriyas, the other classes also participed in war. In this connection, the remarks of Basham needs special mention. According to him, " there is no doubt that of the four great classes Kshatriya was the warrior par excellence.....but all classes took -part in war". [2] The

Bengali army at first drew its recruits from the mixed classes of adventurers to be found in the Bengali Provinces, and form 1776 A.D. onwards from the kingdom of Oudh, enlisting chiefly Brahmins and Rajputs, described as a brave, manly race of people. [3]

Regarding the recruitment of soldiers in Tripura army, there is a scanty reference available and it is difficult to state whether any specific rule of recruitment was in vogue in the State. Avilable documents, however, indicate that the male persons of the State were all soldiers. At the time of attacks and invisions, they were conscripted to join the war with a view to defending the State from the enemy. [4] In this connection, it may be mentioned that since time immemorial, 'Citizen Soldier's played a vital role in the defence of the motherland. In Ramayana and Mahabharata as also in the Arthasastra of Kautilya rference to ' Citizen army' were to be found.[5] Even in last world Wars we have informations of European States depending on 'Citizen army' : only the modern connotation has differed. In modern world , at some time or other , these civilians receive regular military training in military institutions: whereas, in the past, probably both proficiency and training were matters of indivisuals, acquirements.

Besides this, even in the early part of the 20th century (during First World War.), the Tripura king gave an order to the inhabitants of the State to join the army which in term was ordered to act under the command of the British army in their operations. It remains a fact, that, even in times of present - day war, no nation in the world could depend solely on its regular armed forces. 'Help, direct and indirect, from the civilian popuiation is a must'.[6] 'Civil

Defence' is a household word today. Oxiliary forces like territorial army etc. were raised in abundance even in India during the second World War. In these totally civilian organisations, there are large number of persons with the background of regular military training in arms and weapons. Thus the concept of 'civilian army' or ' citizen army' is not at all a paradox. Only that to utilize such a force, the essential structure of training and refreshing must be perfect. Such a structure could not be expected in the remote past and in a small State like Tripura. Therefore, a doubt about the efficacy of the then Tripura army remains.

A(ii) Selection of Senapati:

Selection of 'Senapati'(the Commander- in -Chief) is a very important matter in military science. The fortunes of a battle are largely determined by his skill or lack of it. So the authority has to be very judicious in its selection of person for this rank. In ancient and medieval India, kings were the sole authority in appointing a Senapati of the armed forces. King's personal considerations and evaluation of a person were the criterion of making this important appointment. Thus it appears that kings of Tripura also followed this general pattern in exercising their authority to appoint a Senapati. Through out the history of Tripura, the normal practice was to appoint a Senapati from amongst the close relatives of a king.[7] In all probability the Senapati assumed his position more through royal lineage than through experience and training.

Dhanya Manikya (c. 1490-1520 A.D.), with a view " to

consolidate his power", to quote A.C. Bhattacharyya, " and place his throne on a firmer footing, reorganised the Army and introduced many reforms. The old generals who aspired to, and practically did, for some time control the affairs of Government were removed and put to death and new posts of different grades were created and filled up by able officers. [8] Since the time of Dhanya Manikya, the kings relied upon the ability of some other persons irrespective of cast and religion. In this connection, it may be said that Senapati Rai Kachhag of Dhanya Manikya, belonging to a Riang community (not in kinship with the royal Tripuri tribe) was appointed by the king in special circumstances.[9] The latter method, it seems, was followed by the kings to meet some special exigencies.

Perhaps, with a view to associating the close relatives with the sharing of royal power as also to ensure better security of the king and the State, the kings of Tripura followed the usual practice. But the persons appointed as Senapati were not always loyal to their masters. On quite a few occasions, they, inspite of being close relatives of the king, initiated and encouraged palace intrigues and dissatisfaction among the soldiers against their monarch. In support of it, reference may be made of Daitya Narayan, Senapati of Vijay Manikya (c. 1532-1563 A.D.), Senapati Gopiprasad Narayan of Ananta Manikya (c. 1564-1566 A.D.), Ranagan Narayan of Joy Manikya (c. 1573-1577 A.D.)etc. who tried to dethrone the kings of Tripura in order to capture power. [10]

A(iii). Use of Different Military Titles :

In Tripura army, during medieval times, conferring

titles of various kinds upon some selected persons were in practice. Those were the titles ' Narayana', 'Khan', ' Barua', 'Hazari', 'Nazir', 'Kharaita', 'Sardar' etc. [11] although a descriptive account of them is not found available in any of the work consulted, usually we are accustomed to consider military titles in terms of the size of a garrison placed under the control of the title- holder. The Mansabders in Mughal army had under their control of fixed number of ranks attached to their titles. In case of Tripura army, in absence of such descriptions, the titles appeared to be arbitrarily conferred. However, let us now study the selected titles in a nutsholl which seem to be conferred and were of importance to the then Tripura army.

Narayana :

'Senapati' of the Tripura army was usually conferred with the title of ' Narayana'. [12] It was first introduced in Tripura during the regime of Dhanya Maikya (c. 1490-1520 A.D). Literally the word 'Narayana' means Vishnu and Krishna. According to the Hindu mythology, Vishnu is the saviour of creation and he holds 'Sankha', 'Chakra', 'Gada' and 'Padma'. Krishna, as per the mytholigical legends, also is a valorous soldier and an unparallel master of art and science of war. Thus, it appears that by adorning Senapati with the title ' Narayana', the kings of Tripura gave them high honour, dignity and responsibility.

Khan :

Some of the soldiers in Tripura army were adorned with the title 'Khan'. Here it may be said that the Afghan rulers

of India considered the title 'Khan' as a very high honour and they used to confer this title to the persons of eminence. Thus it appears that in selecting this title of honour 'Khan', the kings of Tripura introduced the custom of their contemporary Afghan rulers. Rajamala, however, contends that the kings of Tripura used to confer the title 'Khan' to the person belonging to the hilly tribe.[13]

Barua :

'Barua' was regarded as an important title assigned to the Tripura army [14] and it perhaps originated from the Bengali word 'Bara' meaning supreme. In this connection, reference may be made of Assam, the neignbouring State of Tripura, where in such title ' Barua' was entrusted with important military funcitions.[15]

Hazari :

The title 'Hazari' was first introduced in Tripura army during the regime of Dhanya Manikya.[16] The Bengali word 'Hazar' means thousand. Thus it seems possible that ' Hazari' was the Commander to one thousand soldiers. In Shivaji's army also, a Commander of one thousand soldiers was called 'Hazari'. [17] Thus 'Hazari' of Tripura army may be same or similar with the 'Hazari' of Shivali's army.

Nazir :

Normally, a close relative of the king used to be appointed as ' Nazir' who was the overall Commander of ' Vinandiya' troops. [18] The Vinandiya troops were composed of hill tribes and their main responsibility was the protection of the capital town.[19]

Kharaita:

'Kharaita' was another important title assigned to some members of Tripurs army. War manoeuvres in those times required a lot of physical exertion, therfore, in Tripura army sound physique was a must for recruits to this rank. [20]

In view of the above, it may be said that confering of titles were kept confined to the limited persons of royal choice and there was no provision of awarding titles upon ordinary soldiers inspite of extraordinary performance.

A(iv). Espionage System :

The espionage system to collect information about the intention, whereabouts and volume of enemy military power was in practice even in the most ancient times. Such paid informers were also employed by kings to gather information about the administrative and financial conditions of his state and the public opinion within the territory. The Delhi Sultan supervised the working of an efficient spy system that kept him informed of the " good and bad doings of the people". [21]

The spies might be recruited from any walk of life, and might be of either sex. Merchants, barbers, astrologers, humble servitors, prostitutes, peasants -- all might be enrolled as secret agents. [22] The duties of spy were arduous and carried immense responsibility. The author of the Garuda-Purana wrote," A blind prince may see through the eyes of his spies, ..." [23] Allegiance to the king was the essential quality and in addition they had to be honest, cunning, knowledgeable and expert in taking disguise.

These agents were main supports of the administration and defence of a kingdom. In this connection , the observation of Alem, [24] however, needs a special mention. According to him, " Espionage has been , and still is, the theme of innumerable novels and films."

From the **Rajamala**, [25] We come to know of similar practice being in vogue in Tripura. Tripura court also appointed such agents and informers. They also acted as couriers. There are references of envoys being received in Tripura court and also being sent to the neighboring States. [26] But there is no reference available to give an idea about the extent , practice and importance of military intelligence in the State. There is every reason to doubt if any such institution at all existed -- because often it has been found that the State was attacked by enemies in the most unprepared condition. This leads to the conclusion that such attacks were not efficiently apprehended which frequently led to a total disruption in the State administration. Even during battles, there is no clear cut reference to military intelligence system.

It is thus assumed that the intelligence service in this small State was organised most casually . There may be several probable reasons for that : probably the amount of monetary expenditure involved behind each agent was not within the usual means of the State; the other reason might have been a language difference with the adjoining areas.If a person speaking one of the dialects of the State was appointed to collect information about a tribe or a race other than his , he was sure to be detected because of language difficulties unless he was specially trained to

speak different dialects and languages fluently.

In view of the above, it may be said that the military institution in the proper sense of the term did not exist in the Princely State of Tripura. There was no regular army and hence there was no proper recruitment method, training system and placement of combatants under different ranks. Military intelligence service was almost unknown to the land . Adhoc armies used to be raised by conscription of civilians whose hunting skill was the only military training to be depended upon in resisting external aggression. There was however, a small unit of defence personnel to safe- guard the royal palace and to ensure the security of royal personages. Confirment of military titles parallel to those in vogue in adjoining territories goes to prove that the requirements of a military set up was not altogether unknown to the Tripura monarchs. Yet they failed to develop their armies perhaps mainly because of their financial strains. Another reason for this lack of military preparation may be the indifference of the kings to the administration and welfare of the State. They delegated their responsiblities to individuals arbitrarily and without much care to assess the ability of the persons chosen for different jobs.

B. MILITARY ORGANISATION :

Military organisation is a system by which an orderly structure and working order are set in the armed forces to achieve an objective. Any fighting force is organised or built up as a cohesive, balanced, compact and intersupporting body. A chain of command is established to bind the elements of fighting forces into a synchronized machine. Thus, to get an idea about the military history of any State, a study of the organisation of the armed forces becomes important. It gives an idea of the method of man-management and the same of command and control of the soldiers. The army which constituted a very important limb of the State was defined by Sukra as a "body consisting especially of men provided with weapons". [27]

The preparation of the army presupposes various factors like the development of the means of warfare, human, animal and material, - the State of the army, its constituent branches; the level of military art, the availability of weapons and equipment, and the development of special arms like artillery and military engineering, military geography, pay and allowances etc. [28] These were the idea in the medieval Indian States though the degree of efficiency might have been different from today. The proper constitution of an army also includes training programme. The training not only imparts the essential knowledge of handling man and material, but also aims at giving identical training to all the individuals to interpret a given tactical move in the same meaning among all the members. This aim of homogeneity in training does not seem to have been present in the concept of army in

medieval India, nor in Tripura as well.

Constituent Branches of the Army :

Of the traditional four limbs (Chaturanga : infantry, cavalry, chariot and elephant) of the ancient Indian army only three survived in the mediaval period : infantry, cavalry and elephants. Besides those, the artillery, a new arm, was also introduced in the mediaval period. The naval force, another important branch of the armd forces was introduced in ancient and medieval times. However, like the forces of all other Indian States of mediaval period, the then Tripura force was also organised with infantry, cavalry, elephantry, artillery and navy.

Those who are acquainted with the geographical feature of present - day Tripura may find the concept of navy irreconcilable to the Tripura situation. There is hardly any navigable river in present - day Tripura except a part of river Gumti and a part of Manu. These navigable parts are so far inland that even the presence of a navy may not be of any consequence due to lack of facility for navigability through out the streams. While speaking of navy in the Princely State of Tripura, it must be kept in mind that in those days a large part of the State extended into those parts of erstwhile East Pakistan where big rivers flow.

The importance and efficiency of each arm of Tripura are furnished below :

(i) Infantry :

It is but natural that the first raised army in all States consisted of infantry and Tripura was also not an exception.

In this regard the observation of Basham needs a special mention. According to him, 'the infantry must at all times have been the real backbone of the army.' [29] During the entire period of Tripura's history under the present study, it appears that the main bulk of the army consisted of infantry. [30] In Shivaji's time in Maharastra, infantry was the most preponderant arm of services. [31] In ancient Greece also the whole army at first was composed of infantry alone. [32]

Besides these, it may also be mentioned that, "a region which is full of inaccessible spots and which is overgrown with large trees and cane bushes, is the ground for infantry." [33] So in regard to Tripura also, the geography of the State is suitable to the infantry, because the State is covered with uneven spots and high tilla lands, although on the other hand, it is surrounded by some plain lands. However, this ancient arm (infantry) of the army was pretty effective in the plain land also.

But inspite of all these natural facilities, the infantry of the State was not effective. Because no regular force was maintained in the then Tripura army and at the time of attacks and invasions, the male inhabitants of the State were conscripted to join the battle. [34] In the Ahom system of military organisation also, all adult males between the ages sixteen and fifty had to render compulsory military service. [35] In the remote past soldiering seemed to have been the occupation only of the Kshatriyas whose cast itself enjoined them to the military profession; but in the medieval age others also were found to have joined the profession and thus the distinctive feature of the Kshatriyas

as the sole combatants was lost. Since there was no regular army and adhoc armies were raised during attacks and invasions through conscription of men belonging to all casts and professions, soldiering did not remain any more the cast skill of the Kshatriyas. Hereditary skill and training could not be depended upon to guarantee the efficiency of the army and organised training under State management and control became a must. But unfortunately, no such arrangement for regular training of the soldiers existed in the Princely State of Tripura. The conscripted men were possibly enroled in the infantry since other branches of the army like cavalry, elephantry, artillery etc. required skill and training acquired before hand. This accounted for many of their debacles in battles resulting in still further impoverishment of the State.

(ii) Cavalry :

Cavalry began its glorious career from the ancient period. The presumption appears accurate that much of Aryan victory depended on a rudementary cavalry. In addition to the subordinate role of acting as a flank-guard to the chariots and the elephant crops, the cavalry had learnt to operate as a compact force during the great Mahabharata wars. It came to be used in all roles to which the horse and its rider could be employed. [36] Nevertheless, the cavalry as an arm came into prominence when Alexander came kicking upto the historic fields of the Hydaspes. Thereafter, it soon grew in stature and importance. Rapidity, mobility and impetuosity became its characteristic hall-marks. [37] It came to be appreciated that the horse can easily open gaps in enemy arrays and

complete the victory by "carrying off prisoners and trophies, pursuing the enemy, rapidly succouring a threatened point, over-throwing disordered infantry, covering retreats....." [38]

But in the eastern provinces of the Indian sub-continent, horse was never a natural fauna. Therefore, the kings of the States of this entire area had to import horses from other places. In this connection, it may be mentioned that, "in the 13th and 14th centuries cavalry formed an important section of the Ahom army and from Bhutan horses were imported in Assam". [39]

However, Tripura also in this regard did not lag behind. In an effort to modernise the army, Vijay Manikya, (c. 1532-1563 A. D.) a king of Tripura, started organising the cavalry. [40] He not only imported the horses, but also employed the Afghan soldiars [41] in this branch and thus introduced a new element in the Tripura army, although according to Ain-i-Akbari, the strength of Tripura cavalry was negligible". [42]

The great weakness of the Tripura cavalry lay in the non-recruitment of local men in that arm. Dependance on mercenary soldiers might have added to the glamour of the armed forces, but was never beneficial to the employer. The mercenary soldiers betrayed the king and often made a conspiracy to usurp the crown dethroning the monarch. [43]

Besides this, the king perhaps developed a horror of horses due to the geographical features of Tripura. Vast forests, high tillas, rivers and rains made movement of

horses difficult, while humid climate especially during the rainy season militated against horse-breeding. In Assam also, the importance of cavalry declined due to its geographical features. [44]

However, it is a fact that the cavalry, not only in Tripura but in other States of India also, never achieved high standard of performance. The defeat of Indian armies at the hands of foreign invaders from 326 BC to 1192 A. D. or more appropriately 1194 A. D. was largely due to the inferiority of this arm. [45]

(iii) Elephantry :

The elephants had formed a pivot of the Indian army form time immemorial. [46] According to Kautilya, "the victory of kings (in battles) depend mainly upon elephants. Being of large bodily frame, they are capable not only to destroy the arrayed army of an enemy, his fortifications and encampments, but also to undertake works that are dangerous to life."[47]

The eastern regions in India with hot and humid conditions were famous for good elephant breeding and as such Bengal was one of the Principal sources of supply of elephants, [48] and in Tripura also a large number of elephants were found available. It is hence that elephantry was organised in the then Tripura army. [49]

However, in this connection, it may be mentioned that inspite of the abundance of elephants in Tripura State, no effective and trained elephantry was organised and use of elephants exclusively in battle was not specifically marked, although elephants were considered 'indispensable as a

fighting machine' in north-east India. [50]

In addition, it may also be mentioned that during the medieval period, Tripura was frequently attacked and partially annexed by the Nawabs of Bengal. The Primary intention of the invaders was the collection of elephants of Tripura to be used in war. The invaders generally left Tripura, the moment they got elephants. Not only that, they rather, compelled the kings of the State to regularly pay elephants as tributes. Delay or defiance in paying tributes was severely dealt with. [51]

(iv) Artillery :

The introduciton of artillery ushered a new age in military science and tactics in the medieval period. In the course of the 15th century, considerable improvements were made both in the construction and application of artillery. [52] However, the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century was the period in which the artillery was in most countries finally incorporated in the army, deprived of its medieval character of a guild, recognized as an arm, and thus enabled to take more regular and rapid development. The consequence was an almost immediate and very marked progress. [53]

The artillery in Tripura, as it appears from the available information, was first introduced as an arm of war during the regime of Amar Manikya (c. 1577-1586 A. D.), a king of Tripura.[54] In organising this arm, the king depended solely on the Portuguese soldiers. [55] Involvement of the local men in that arm was perhps completely absent and as a result the king had to face various problems on

different occasions. Once the Portuguese mercenary secretly joined hands with the Arakan King and they handed over to him Chittagong which the ruler of Tripura had occupied. [56] Thus, it may be said that dependance on the mercenary soldiers was the main weakness of the Tripura artillery and it showed no skill, nor even any efficiency in this craft.

(v) Naval Force :

That navy is an integral constituent of armed forces was very much recognised in India right from the ancient times. The Princely State of Tripura also seems to have been well aware of the concept, though no specific mention of any naval force specially maintained for river wars has been found in any of the records consulted. Only scanty references are available to different varieties of boats used for battle purposes. [57] The boats used, were :

1. PINISH (KOSĀ) : a kind of small boat
2. PĀNSHI : kind of house boat.
3. KONDĀ : a kind of big boat made of woodenlog carved inside with no joining planks with the help of Patam (a kind of nail generally used in making boats).
4. MĀRKOSW : a kind of boat with a flat bottom suitably used in hilly streams having low water-level.
5. LĀKHĀI : a kind of boat with flat bottom having its prow partially

horsehead like.

6. SARANGĀ : a kind of big boat generally popular in Chittagong area.

7. POLOĀR : a kind of boat bigger and broader in size. Poloār boat of Dhaka was well-known in east-Bengal.

8. OTHĀR : a kind of long, narrow and speedy boat.

It may not be irrelevant to point out that though Tripura had no naval force worth the name, in other areas of the north-east India, the people of Kamrup and Assam had a long tradition of river warfare. Hiuen Tsang referred to 30,000 boats in these parts. The Ahom navy was highly efficient and boats were numerous in Assam. [58] In Bihar and Bengal also, a number of boats with different varieties were used for military purposes.[59]

Besides these, it may also be mentioned that though most of the rivers of Tripura are not suitable for navigation as they are neither broad nor deep and in summer, the rivers become almost dry, yet the river Gumti in the southern area of the State had a major significance in the security of Tripura as was marked during the battles of King Dhanya Manikya (c. 1490-1520 A. D.) with the forces of Hussain Shah of Gour. Thus, despite its lack of development, the importance of riverain navy in the military history of Tripura can not be overlooked.

The Tripura kings used the traditional title of 'Visam Samar Vijayee' (Victor of great Wars) - which referred to

their military skill in the remote past. It is hardly possible to conceive of a military leader without an army. Moreover, the Tripura dynasty is 'Kshatriya' by cast. A practice in the martial profession, however perfunctory, is considered essential among the Kshatriyas. Most of the Tripura Kings held voluntary 'Kings' commission' during British regime. It goes to prove that the attitude of Tripura kings towards arms and the army was not altogether indifferent. Consideration of these facts points towards the existence of a military organization, of whatever caliber it might have been, in the state.

Although materials in the State archieves are negligible to substantiate the propositions yet the claim of the existence of any army in the State is no more a hypothesis. References in the contemporary history of adjoining areas and the folk tales and anecdotes bear out engagement of Tripura Kings in battles. The results were seldom spectacular, and the causes can be found in the local chronicle in Verse (Rajmala). A study of the causes has resulted in the hypothesis that the military organization in Tripura was rather rudimentary and casual, though, from the side of the king there was the effort to organise it after the models of other states.

C. ARMS AND INSTRUMENTS :

Arms include a wide range of equipments used in offence or defence. In common use, and particularly in the ancient ages, arms mainly denoted weapons. Any instrument of offence or defence, used to destroy, injure, defeat, or threaten an enemy is called weapon. [60] Man has been using weapon from the moment, he felt the necessity of keeping the enemy at a safe distance. Weapons are 'the best friends of the brave, the symbol of authority and the token of command .....' [61]

Initially, the weapons were crude in shape and were of only few varieties. The evolution of weapons depended directly upon man's knowledge about different materials and on his skill of utilising the said knowledge in making more effective weapons at comparatively less cost. Thus, it may be said that an analytical study of weapons of a community or a State would enable us to comprehend the State of development of science and technology of that particular region.

Thus, by means of weapon power, men were advancing on to the road to civilization and to establish a law-abiding society. [62] In this connection Niccolo Machiavelli wrote, "there can not be good laws where there are not good arms, and where there are good arms there must be good laws." [63] Further, weapons are always directly related to the tactics of war. Invention of a new weapons caused change in the pattern of war. At times, a new weapon led to the reshaping of organisation of the armed forces.

In the context of Tripura under the present study, available documents, however, indicate that during 15th

and 16th centuries, the arms in Tripura's army consisted of Takhyal or Dao, Jathee (sharpened iron stick), Khadga, Dhal (shield), Dhanurban (bow and arrow), Musket and Cannon etc. [64] In this connection, it may not he irrelevant to mention that the weapons of the Princely State of Tripura resembled very closely the weapons of the other States of India of that time. However, due to paucity of materials in regard to the detailed description of each type of earlier weapons of the State, it is difficult to make a comprehensive study of the same. The author here attempts to present a description of some of the weapons specifically referred to in the scanty references.

(i) Takhyal or Dao :

Takhyal or Dao was a local offensive weapon in Close Quarter Battle (C. Q. B.), consisting of a staight iron blade with a small wooden handle having two sharp edges on top and on one side leaving the other side blunt. This type of weapon in the name of Dao, with slight variation in structure, was used by the eastern Nagas, the Bhutias, the Khamtis and the Singphos also.[65]

In regard to Dao, the account of Lewin [66] is very interesting. According to him, the 'Dao' is the hill knife, used universally through out the country. It is a blade about eighteen inches long, narrow at the haft, and square and broad at the tip; pointless, and sharpened on one side only. The blade is set in a handle of wood; a bamboo root is considered the best. The fighting 'Dao' is differently shaped; this is a long pointless sword, set in a wooden or ebony handle; it is very heavy, and a blow of almost incredible power can be given by one of these weapons. With both the fighting and the ordinary dao one can make

but two cuts; one from the right shoulder downwards to the left, one from the left foot upwards to the right. The reason of this is, that in sharpening the blade, one side only gives the edge, slanting to the other straight face of the blade. Any attempt to cut in a way contrary to those mentioned causes the dao to turn in the hand on the striker, and I have seen some bad wounds inflicted in this manner. The weapon is identical with the "Parang latok" of the Malays. The ordinary hill dao is generally stuck naked into the waist-band on the right hip, but the fighting dao is provided with scabbard, and worn at the waist. The dao to a hill man is a possession of great price. It is literally the bread winner; with this he cuts his joom and builds his houses; without its aid the most ordinary operations of hill life could not be performed. It is with the dao that he fashions the women's weaving tools; with the dao he fines off his boat; with the dao he notches a stair in the steep hill-side leading to his joom.; and to the dao he frequently owes his life, in defending himself from the attacks of wild animals.

G. C. Stone in this regard said that "Dao is almost the only tool the Naga has. With it he builds his house, clears the forest, makes the women's weaving tools and any wooden objects needed in his weaving tools and any wooden objects needed in his ordinary occupation". [67]

Besides this, Dao is used by the Adis and other aboriginal tribes also. it serves both the domestic as well as the martial purpose. The blade of the Adi dao is narrower towards the tip. These are without points and are heavy at the top. The blade has a tang which is inserted into the wooden shaft and plaited with cane stripes. [68]

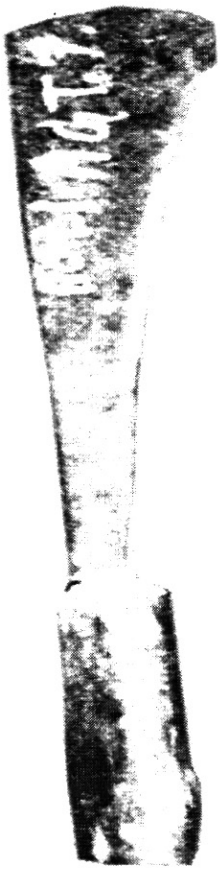


PLATE-I
Takhyal/Dao

Total Length : 18" inches
Length of the Blade : 11" Inches

Source : Govt. Museum, Agartala.

(ii) Khadga :

In the annals of Tripura Kings i. e. Rajamala, reference of 'Khadga' is found available as an effective weapon of earlier battles. It is one of the most ancient Indian swords and has been associated with many deities. [69] According to Major General D. K. Palit, [70] Khadga may be classified as 'shock weapon' which is more decisive instrument because it is wielded personally and at close quarters; at the sametime it lacks flexibility of commitment because its employment is an act of finality - it must end in victory or defeat. In a frontal attak with infantry, for instance, once the assaulting troops have closed with the defenders, one or the other must be defeated; there is little likelihood of either side being able to retrieve the situation by extricating itself and replanning another engagement.

Besides Major General Palit, some other scholars, both native and foreign, have had some observations to make on the use and efficacy of Khadga as a fighting weapon. The observation of G. N. Pant in regard to Khadga, differs with the account of George Camerson Stone and Wilbraham Egerton. Stone describes 'Khadga as synonym of asi [71] where Pant is of the view that it is altogether a different sword. [72] Besides this, both Egerton and Stone have described Khadga and Kharga as two different weapons while in fact, both are the same. [73] Egerton has said 'Kharga' and 'Ram Dao' as the same weapon.[74] But according to Pant, [75] Ram Dao is not a fighting weapon but is a sacrificial sword used to decapitate the animals offered in sacrifice to the Goddess. There are severl shapes but all are used for the same purpose. The Ram Dao has generally a broad, massive, heavy hlade terminating into

an axe like projection and bearing scroll ornaments and the human eye incised in the blade and coloured. [76]

(iii) Dhanurban (Bow and Arrow) :

Dhanurban, a far reaching weapon, was very effective in the then Tripura army, although no detailed account in this connection is found available. However on studing an idol of the 18th century which was recovered from a village, Radhanagar, Tripura (now preserved in Govt. Museum, Agartala), it may be said that short and simple bows and triangular headed arrows were perhaps used in the State. The earliest bow might have been very powerful instrument made of bamboo, cane or wood. The usual Indian bow of Mauryan times was some 'five or six feet long, and often made of bamboo; it shot long cane arrows.'[77]

But the Dhanurveda has explicitly said that a bow should be shorter, lighter and less heavier than its bearer. [78] In regard to the length and size of a bow, the Shiva Dhanurveda has further pointed out, "a good bow is that which is a little less strong than its bearer. For that which is precious is not the bow, but the bowman. If he is troubled by the bow, he cannot shoot with ease. Hence the size of a good bow should be in proportion to the strength of its bearer." [79]

The most common weapon of offence, in ancient times, was the bow and arrow. it is still practised with skill and effect. The arrows are small, not being more than two or two and half feet long. The bows also do not exceed that length. [80]

In addition, a special mention needs be made of poisoned

PLATE - II

Idol of 18th Century, found at a village Radhanagar, Tripura, Contains Dhanurban (bow and arrow) in his hands.
Source : Govt. Museum, Agartala.

arrows [81] which were used effectively in the then Tripura army. In this connection, the Rigveda refers to the arrow-heads smeared with poison. [82] Besides this, the Dhanurveda has illustrated the technique of making an arrow poisonous. According to it, "the rocksalt from the peepul should be ground in the cow's urine and paste made. This paste should be smeared over the arrow-head and then heated in fire. It will then become blue, like the colour of the neck of the peacock, and poisonous". [83] Such arrows were said to have pierced the strongest armour and killed the most formidable enemy.

(iv) Cannon

The term cannon is possibly derived from Canna (a reed). It is a piece of artillery, used to throw balls and other projectiles. Cannon in the Sanskrit idiom is called shet-Agnee and its manufacture was known in ancient India. [84] In the chronicle of Tripura Kings, Rajamala, cannon is referred to as a weapon of Tripura artillery, although it was not popular with the then warriors of the State. [85]

Here the observation of Pant needs a special mention. According to him, "it is, therefore, evident that though the knowledge of fire rocket was quite ancient and fire-arrows had also become common after the Arab invasion, the fire-arms were still not popular and the common soldier still used a bow and arrows with a sword". [86] Besides this, the travellers Nicolo Conti and Nikitin, who visited India in the 15th century A. D., also mentioned that the elephants were generally used in the battle. Each elephant carried a citadel (howdah), and in the citadel were seated 12 men in armour with bows and arrows.[87]

According to Rajamala, [88] in the fifteenth century the cannon, used by Tripura army was made of hide. It was generally exploded with terrific sound and as such created a panic among the enemy.[89] However, in regard to the earliest form of cannon, Fuller in his Armament and History mentions that it (cannon) was a "dart-throwing Vase, or it was also called a 'pot-de-fear' ".[90]

Besides all those arms and instruments described above, a few earlier weapons of the State also need a mention. These have been preserved in the Tripura palace and also in the Govt. Museum, Agartala. The weapons are Kuthar, Sword, Shield, Helmet, Varma and Cannon etc. No detailed records of all the instruments are found available.

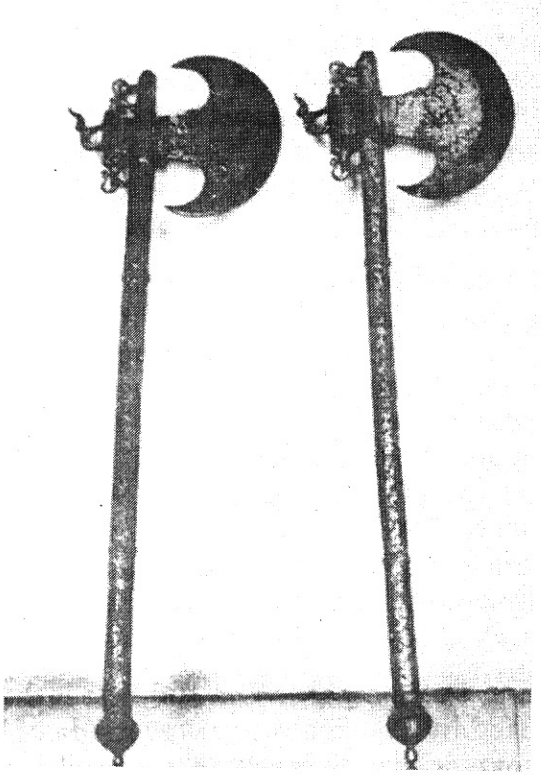


PLATE - III

Kuthar (battle axe)

Material : Iron.

Measurement : (i) Total Length - 16" inches

(ii) Length of the Blade - $7\frac{1}{2}$" inches

Source : Tripura Palace.

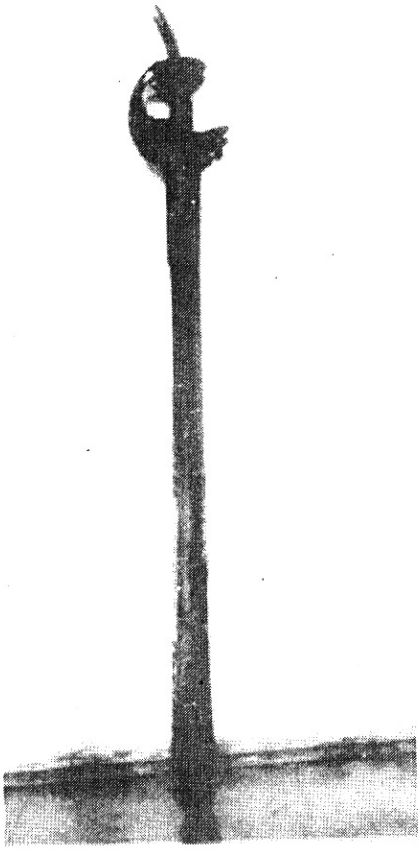


PLATE - IV
Sword

Material	:	Iron
Measurement	:	Total Length - 48" inches

Source : Tripura Palace.

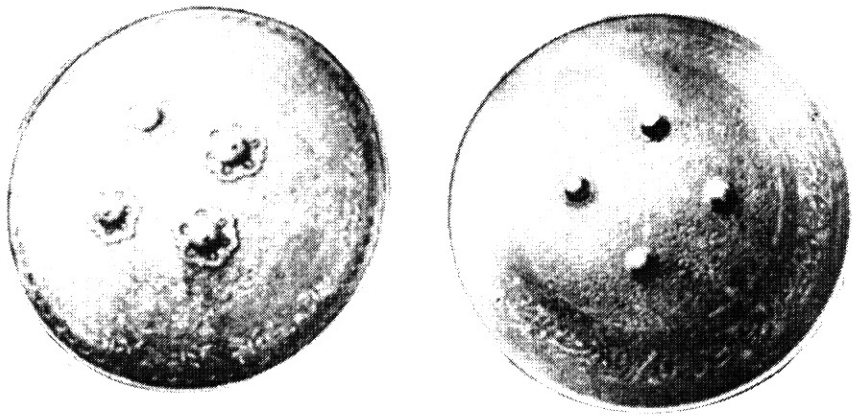


PLATE - V
Dhal (shield)

Material	:	Brass
Measurement		
Diameter	:	(i) 15" inches (ii) $17\frac{1}{2}$" inches

Source : Tripura Palace.

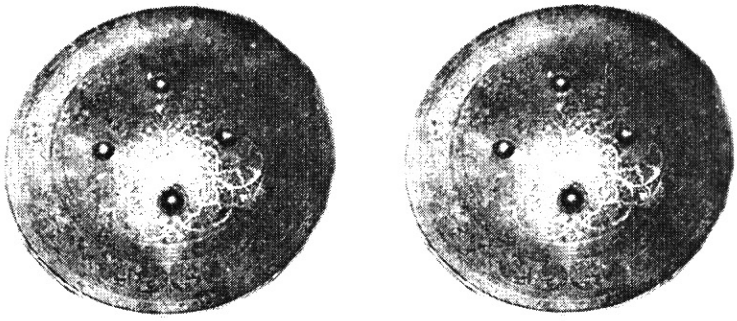


PLATE - VI
Dhal (shield)

Material	:	Brass
Measurement		
Diameter	:	(i) $18^{1}/_{2}$" inches (ii) $18^{1}/_{2}$" inches

Source : Tripura Palace.

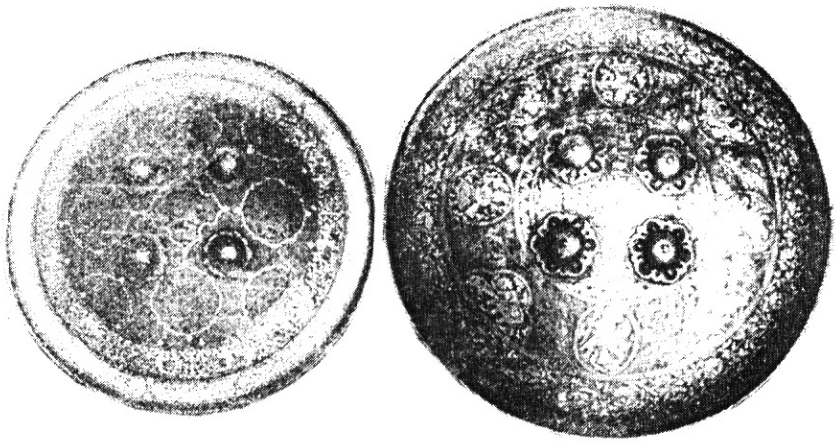


PLATE - VII
Dhal (shield)

Material : Brass
Measurement
Diameter : (i) 19" inches
(ii) $17^{1}/_{2}$" inches

Source : Tripura Palace.

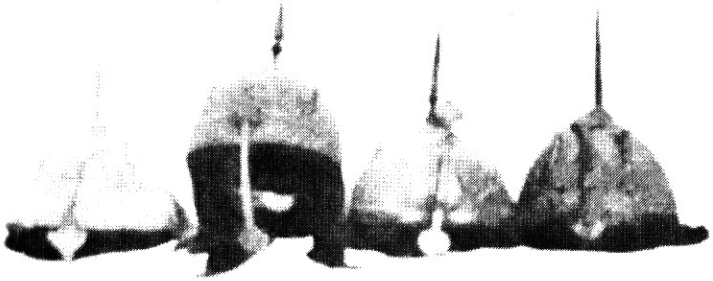


PLATE - VIII
Helmet

Material : Iron

Source : Tripura Palace.

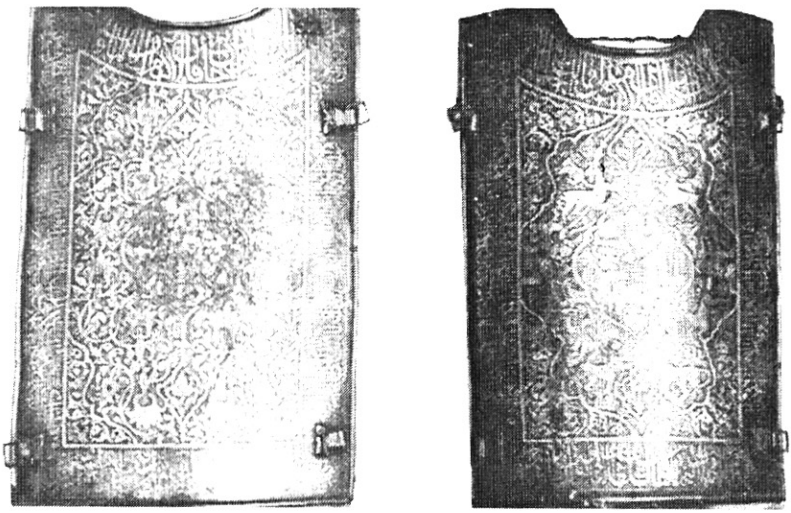


PLATE - IX

Varma (body aromur)

Material : Iron

Measurement

Length : 11" inches

Breadth : 7.9" inches

Source : Tripura Palace.

PLATE - X
Cannon

Material : Iron
Measurement
Length : 110" inches
Diameter of the barrel : 2.3" inches
Circumference of the Cannon : 6" inches
Source : Govt. Museum, Agartala

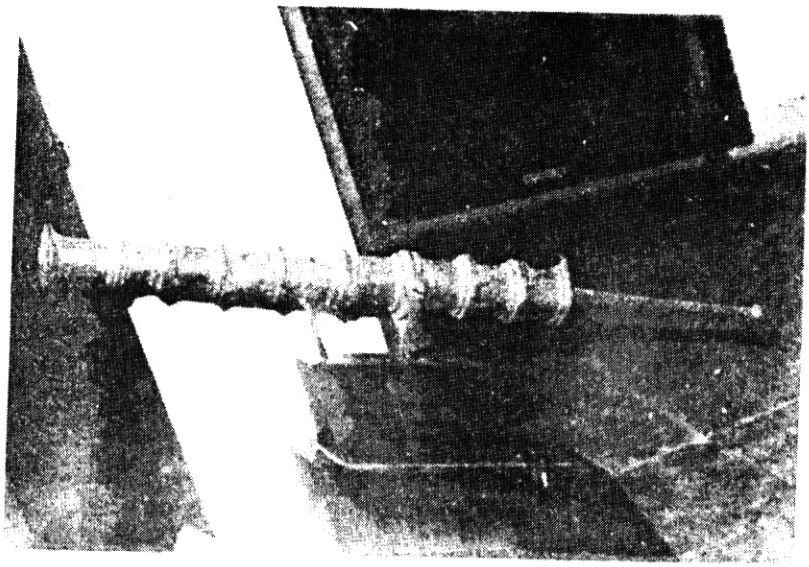


PLATE - XI
Cannon

Material : Iron
Measurement
Length : $31\frac{1}{2}$" inches
Diameter of the barrel : 1.3" inches
Circumference of the Cannon : $9\frac{1}{2}$" inches

Source : Govt. Museum, Agartala

On studying all these different arms and armour, it may be said that in earlier Tripura, the traditional weapons were in vogue. Side by side there is reason to believe that they might have made some innovations as well, as we find in the case of a hide made cannon. The State was connected to Bengal on the one side and to Assam on the other. Any new weapon or aromur introduced in the adjoining States was likely to travell down quickly to the State. This hypothesis gains further strength from the Arabic inscriptions and Muslim designs found on some shields etc. That the State was open to outside influence can be substantiated by the shape of one of the helmets where the typical European chain of nails is found attached to cover the neck and shoulder. Yet a curious point to note is that, there is hardly any reference to any considerable battle success of Tripura till the 16th century. It is usual to update the arms and armours of a State assimilating outside influence only when ther is a developed military establishment and mechanism.

Another note worthy point lies in the fact that there is hardly any reference to or proof of any established weapon making workshop in the State. Smithy was common for various metals, but such small scale establishment fall far short of providing weapons to a regular and large army. Even regular maintenance and repairs of used arms demand a considerable establishment. One explanation is possible, that, the soldiers procured their personal arms and weapons which were made by their village smiths. But such casual and sporadic production of arms could not have assimilated any new influence quickly. In this connection it may not be irrelevant to mention that in time

of war, the kings in the Vedic period depended upon the local levies, who brought there own arms and weapons. [91] In Shivaji's army also, the men brought their own arms and were only furnished with ammunition by Government. [92] However, any discussion on the probable source and process of manufacture of arms in Tripura has to remain based on conjecture. The existing proof of arms used in those days, can only give us an idea of the structure and nature of those arms.

A survey has been attempted to determine the class, types and nature of weapons used by the army in ancient Tripura. In absence of sufficient documents to trace their origin, manufacture and mode of application, the survey remains incomplete. The historical references to battles also are not precise in their description on these points. The process of hypothetical reconstruction of facts from available material has been followed. Some of the weapons have been traditionally used and need not much conjecture in their mode of use or source of supply; but the more sophisticated and purpose oriented weapons used in the State remain covered in mystery. The different possibilities of purchase from outside, commissioning manufacture to established manufacturers and/or utilising the native resources have been discussed. The accurate and comprehensive account could be prepared only with the help of sufficient documents. Unsubstantiated local anecdotes could not be used for obvious reasons. For example, the popular belief of tempering a sword by passing the read-hot weapon through the body of a convict sentenced to death can not be established to have been in practice. Similarly, the heresy of local manufacture of cannons also lack sufficient proof. Therefore, an attempt has been made only to present the available materials with reasonable guess work about them.

D. FORTS AND FORTIFICATIONS :

In India, the fortification originated long before the advent of the historic age. Excavation of Harappa, Mohenjodaro and at other sites of Harappan culture prove the existence of fortifications. [93]

Fortifications constitute artificial obstacles to the enemy though these may not be able to shut him out permanently from a particular area. These are built to gain time, - to inflict the maximum delay on the attackers at a minimum loss of men on the part of defenders and also to increase the reletive value of the defensive forces. But these subserve certain other military needs to safeguard supply depots, to threaten the enemy's communications, and afford a sanctuary or shelter, - especially when these are large or well provisioned. [94] Manu, the Hindu law giver, commented, "A Warrior protected by the fort can fight with a hundred enemy soldires and a force of one hundred fighting from the fort can encounter ten thousand enemy soldiers". [95] Kautilya, the earliest Indian expotent of organised military defence, opines that "the defence of the state depends on the fort (durga) and the army (danda)". [96]

The basic principles of fort in India were conducted by geography or natural defence or artifical defence and expedency. Accoding to Thomas, "The Indian forts were systematically designed with ditches, ramparts, battlements, covered ways and water gates...." [97] Field Marshall Montgomery said that some Indian forts, especially hill forts, were 'as powerful as the best in medieval Europe'. [98]

The use of forts were almost universal and Tripura was

not exception to it. Forts of Tripura were called 'Garh', generally applied to 'Durga'. In ancient and medival Indian literature the term 'durga' is applied to all types of fortifications which seems to have originated from the Sanskrit word 'durgam' meaning difficult. [99] In this connection it may further be pointed out that the word fortification is derived through the Italian from the Latin 'fortis' and 'facere', meaning literally making strong. [100] Not only in Tripura, some forts of other States of India are also named as 'garh' in historic literature, viz., 'Kumbhalgarh' of Rajasthan, [101] 'Rohtas-garh' of Afghan, [102] 'Sinh-garh', Rai-garh' [103] and 'Bhat-garh' [104] of Maratha. Some forts of Assam also, are termed as 'garh' namely 'Simlagarh' [105] etc.

In Tripura, a number of garhs (forts) [106] were constructed in some strategic places on tilla (high land) as also on the bank of the rivers and an effort was made to make them inaceessible to the enemy by interposing various impediments. The forts of Assam also were built at strategic places like 'the junction of the rivers', or on the bank of the rivers. In the Ahom system of fortifications 'the natural defences played an important role for strengthening the protection of the fort'. [107] Besides this, a large number of forts of north-east India were made of mud and bamboo spikes (like the famous bamboo-fort of Titu-Mir) surrounded by a number of deep ditches. [108] Here it may be mentioned that the forts of early civilised tribes of Africa were also 'made of mud and sun-dried brick'. [109]

The forts of Tripura can not perhaps be regarded as 'master achievements' in the field of military architecture as none of the forts are to be found above the ground in an

impressive shape today. Here it may be mentioned that in the history of India, Shivaji was known as a man of forts. But in Tripura, we have no such Shivaji who 'stands almost alone in his supreme and undying love for the forts'.

As regards the method of fortification, it may be said that there are two broad divisions : natural (akritrima) and artificial (kritrima) in this area of study. [110] The method adopted in the fortification of Tripura however, seems to be the artificial one as from the study of the remnants, it is clear that not natural barriars but brick-built walls stood to form the fortification of strategic points. It is seen in history that "both field and permanent fortifications often take advantage of natural obstacles, such as canals and rivers and they are usually comouflaged or otherwise concealed", [111] and in Tripura also this usual formula was more or less parcticed, viz., 'Kailagarh' which was constructed on a high tilla, 'Chandigarh' which was erected on the bank of the river Gumti.

However the statement of the author of Devi Purana that "the construction of brick-built walls is indispensable in artificial forts" [112] also goes to substantiate the claim that the forts of Tripura were intended to be artificial ones to safeguard particular strategic points to create vantage points for observation of enemy movements. The forts of Tripura can not be claimed as natural ones as the availability of natural barriars do not seem to have led to the choice of sites for building up forts.

All the forts of Tripura are now in a State of complete dilapidation and the present author has visited some of

these dilapidated forts where new villages, townships and market places etc. have sprung-up recently. Remnants of some other forts still exist in Tripura, but in the absence of adequate care, they are fast becoming ruins.

let us now servey some of the forts of Tripura, as observed by the author after extensive field study :

(i) Kailagarh

Kailagarh, a fort, situated about 32 K. Ms away to the south west of Agartala, present capital of the State, may be claimed as one of the most ancient forts of the then princely State of Tipperah. It stands in ruins on one of the extreme points of Indo-Bangladesh border of the present day. Adjacent to it runs the Dacca-Chittagong railway line and the 'Kasba' railway station (of Bangaladesh railway) is within 100 metres of it. Incidently, it may be mentioned that the place where the garh is situated is presently called 'Kamalasagar' [113] as a sprawling lake (artificial and not natural), with a temple of Goddess kali by its side, constitutes the chief attraction of the place today.

Kailagarh was built on a high tilla and from the study of the remnants, it may be said that it was a fort protected by brick-built wall of two feet thickness. Here it may be pointed out that according to Marx and Engels, an increase in the thickness of fort-walls might be claimed as one of the first effects of the introduction of artillery in warfare. [114] Basing on that opinion we may date Kailagarh as a construction of a period not earlier than the introduction of artillery.

The bricks used for the protection of Kailagarh, were of

length 8½" inches, breath 4" inches and thickness 1½" inches and in addition a broken specimen of a tile-like brick has also been found from which it can be inferred that the bricks of both types were used in the construction. Regarding plan and design of the fort it may be said that those are difficult to comment on, since the remains do not offer any indication to those aspects of the forts.

No more source materials of Kailagarh could be identified excepting the remains mentioned above. The kali temple that stands at the site at present was erected and enshrined by Vijay Manikya (c. 1520-1532 A. D.) of Tripura. [115]

From its location, it may be said that it was a well selected place having strategic importance from military point of view as the adjoining flat plain lands, stretching over miles, lay in the west and south-western sides of the fortsite and as such it was an ideal site for observation so far as enemy movement was concerned. The site of the fort was of utmost importance also because within 5 K. Ms of it at Araibari [116] (now in Bangladesh) stood the fort of Hussain Shah against whom the then king of Tripura had occasions to fight a number of battles.

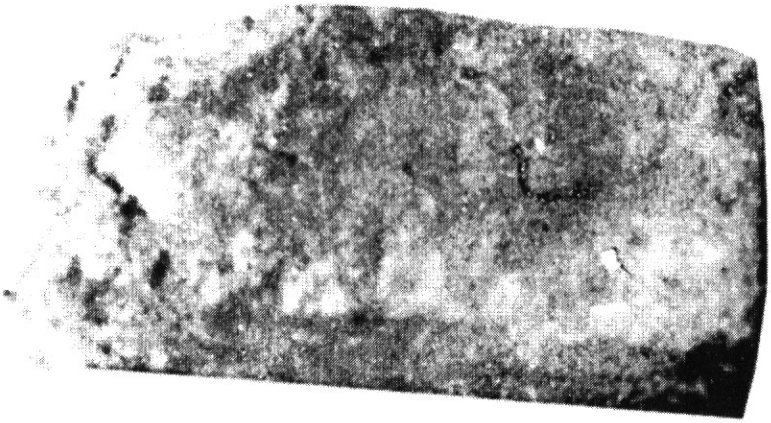


PLATE - XII

Brick used in the Construction of Kailagarh.

PLATE - XIII

Tile - like Brick found in the construction of Kailagarh.

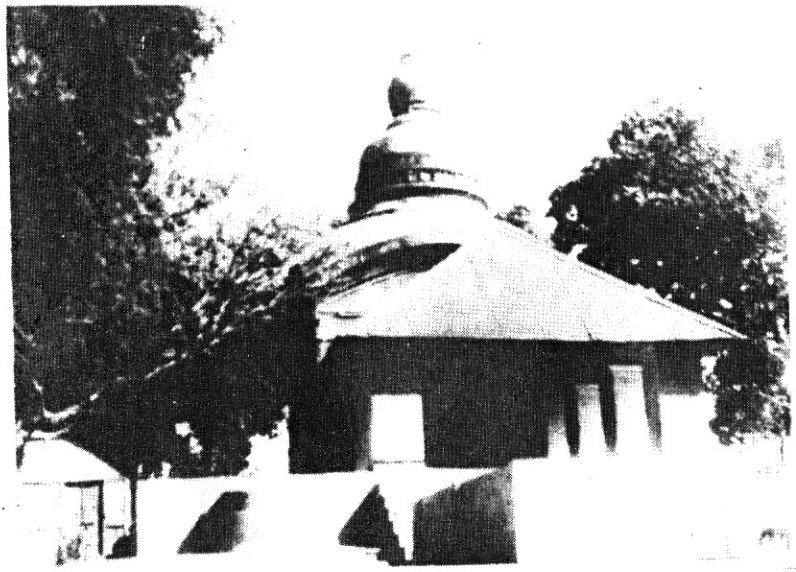


PLATE - XIV

Kali (Hindu Goddess) temple on the fort-site of Kailagarh.

SKETCH - I

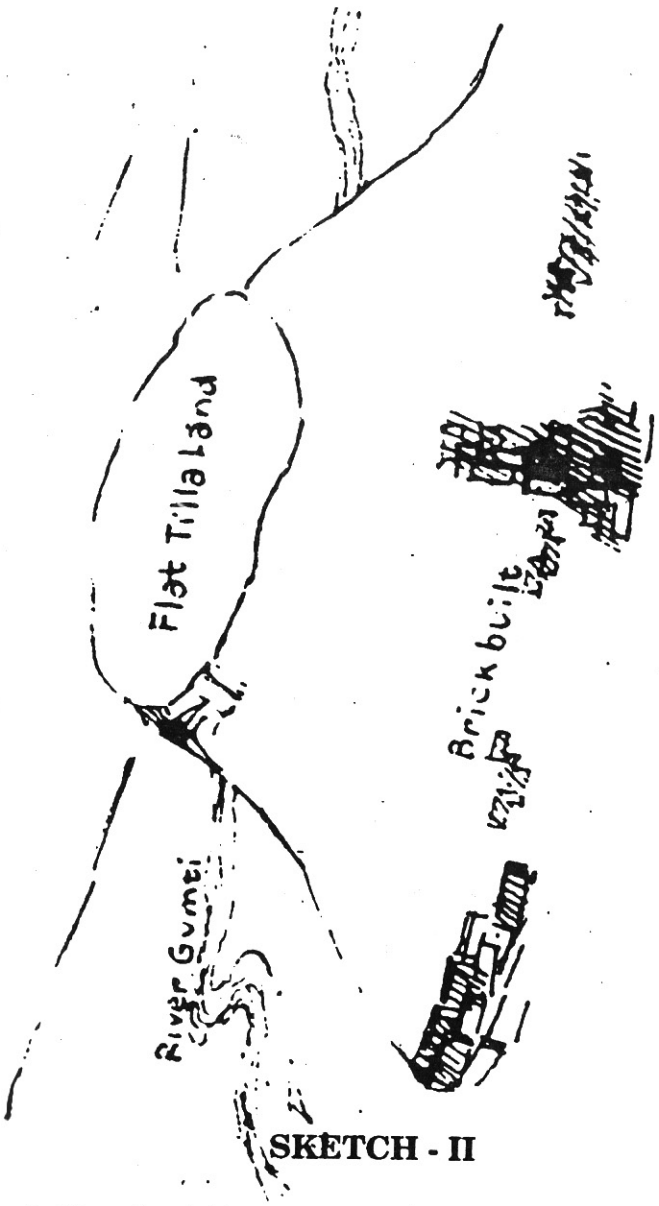
A Sketch of Kailagarh in the eye of an Artist.

(ii) Chandigarh

Chandigarh, located about 50 K. Ms south of Agartala is situated on a tilla land of the northern bank of the river Gumti and the present Bangladesh border is about 10 K. Ms away in the west.

The fort was situated on a flat tilla land being guarded by the river Gumti on the south having plain land around. [117] From the remnants available, it can be inferred that it was a brick-built one. But a major portion of it is nolonger in existence due to the change of river course and subsequent erosion.

It seems that the location of the fort was an ideal one as it was well protected by the river on one side and on the other side it (garh) enabled easy observation upto a long distance so far as enemy movement was concerned.



SKETCH - II

A Sketch of Chandigarh in the eye of an Artist.

(iii) Kalmigarh

Kalmigarh is situated in the Sonamura Subdivision under West Tripura district of present day Tripura. It stands on the extreme point of Indo-Bangladesh border at a distance of 70 K. Ms southword from Agartala, the state capital.

From the study of the remnants, it appears that it was a square area barricated by brick-built wall of two feet thickness having length of 550 feet on each side. The bricks used in the construction were of length $8^{1}/_{2}$" inches, breath 4" inches and thickness $1^{1}/_{2}$" inches.

However to the local people, the fort-site is known as 'Rajbari' (palace) and probably the use of the very term 'Rajbari' is due to existence of constructional remnants as mentioned earlier, But circumstantial evidence justifies it to be a garh (fort) and not a 'Rajbari'. At present, there lies a village named 'Sonaban' Which includes the fort-site also.[118]

Since no care has been taken till date to maintain the site and the site has thus been allowed to fall into ruins through the ravages of time, it is difficult to form an idea of the plan and design of the fort. But by observing its location, geo-physical structure, pattern of surrounding and above all strategic importance in regard to the probable routes of invasion, it may be said from the military point of view that it was a fort of the then period.

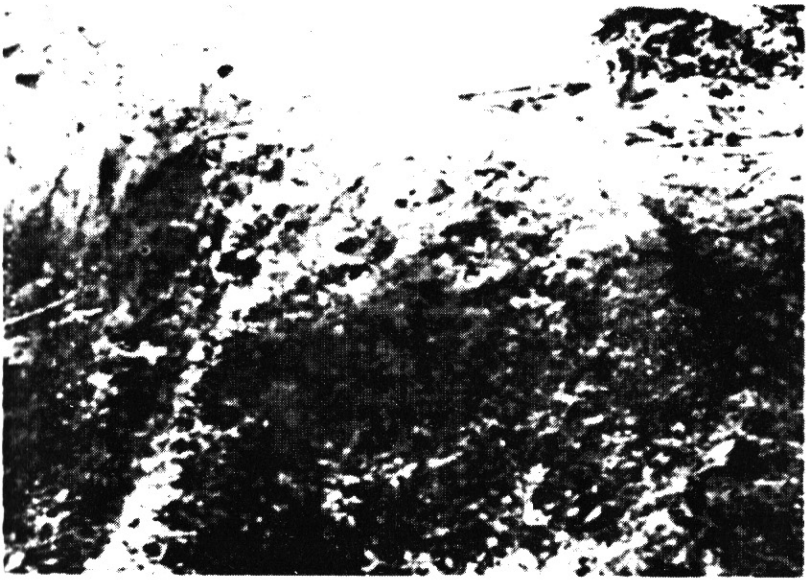


PLATE - XV

Remnant of Kalmigarh.

(iv) Bisalgarh

Bisalgarh, located about 19 K. Ms away to the south of Agartala, is situated on the bank of the river 'Burima'. According to Rajamala, the annals of Tipperah kings written in epic style, it was named Bisalgarh as there was a cantonment (Senanibas) constructed for the warriors.[119] But no remnant in this regard is available and it is at present difficult even to trace out the concerned area also, because a number of new villages and a township have sprung up over it.

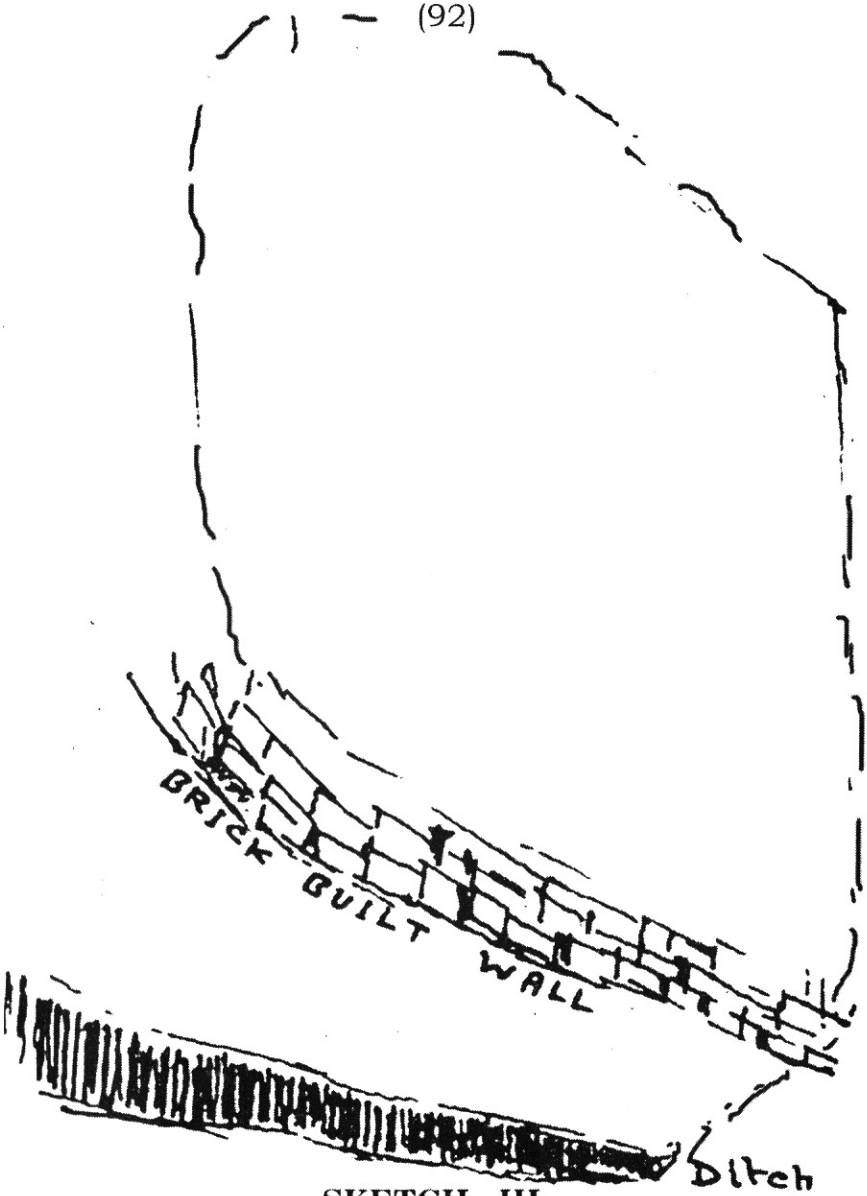
However, regarding the strategic importance of this place, although no reference is available still there are obvious reason to believe that it was a place developed in agricultural field and of a centre of business.[120] So it may be assumed that with a view to ensuring the security of this flourishing area from enemy attackes a military cantonment or a fort might have been constructed. In this connection it may be said that before the advent of the most modern weapons, almost all important trade centres were defended by fortifications.[121] However, the name Bisalgarh suggests that the fortification was not aimed simply to enclose and thereby protect the trade centre but mainly to house soldiers in a cantonment.

(v) Jamir Khan Garh

Jamir Khan Garh is situated about 35 K. Ms away to the south-east of Agartala. [122] From the study of the remnants, it may be said that the Garh (fort) was located on a tilla land, protected by brick-built wall and the bricks used in the construction were engraved with Bengali numerals which read 1441. Besides, a ditch, 'dug outside the protecting wall', is still in existence. In Medieval India, forts were well protected by the ditches e. g. the fort 'Daulatabad', constructed by Ahmad Shah I in 1426-31 A. D., was defended by 'triple ditches'. [123]

However, no more materials of Jamir Khan Garh could be identified because of the inadequate care in the maintenance of the fort. Moreover, it may also be mentioned that a new township at present has sprung up over the entire area. Since Rajamala refers to Jamir Khan Garh as the fort on which Hussain Shah launched his attack to capture the territory of king Dhanya Manikya (c. 1490-1520 A. D.), the then ruler of Tripura, it may be claimed that Jamir Khan Garh was already in existence during the closing years of the 15th century.

Frederick Engles in his 'Fortification' 124 (both defensive and offensive fortifications) has proved that the oldest form of fortification appears to be the stockade which meant double or triple rows of stout trees planted upright and close to each other, forming a wall all around. But it is observed that the forts of Tripura did not follow that pattern of 'stockade'. This may lead one to conclude that the forts of Tripura were of a later origin than those of fortification by stocade.



SKETCH - III

A Sketch of Jamir Khan Garh in the eye of an Artist.

PLATE - XVI

Brick with bengali numerals used in the construction of Jamir Khan Garh.

Besides the garhs (forts) discussed in the chapter, some other fortifications were also constructed in the erst while Princely State of Tipperah. Those were 'Meherkul-durga' (now in Bangladesh), 'Samgrais-garh' (no trace), 'Chhoygharia-grah' (near Charilam), 'Sugria-garh' (no trace), 'Kalakopa-garh' (now in bangladesh), 'Savarmura-garh' (near Sonamura) etc. [125] Among those, a few are now in the territorial jurisdiction of Bangladesh and the rest have lost all their traces, since no Royal patronage was offered for their maintanence and preservation. This, of course, is true of all other forts as well. In fact, none of the forts of Tripura seems to have enjoyed any Royal patronage in their maintanence and preservation. Those which are still in existence now, though in a dilapidated shape, are also sure to loose their existence if no care is taken to maintain them.

TABLE –I

CLASIFICATION OF FORTS OF TRIPURA AS GIVEN IN VARIOUS INDIAN TREATISES

VASTU TEXTS (ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	DEVI PURANA	RAMAYANA	KAUTILYA ARTHASASTRA	SUKRA NITI	MANAS OLLASA SIVATAIVA RATNAKARA	NARADA SHILPA SHASTRA	AGASTYA SHILPA SHASTRA	VISVA KARMA VASTU SHASTRA	YUKTI KALPA TARU	JAYA-PRICHCHA	VASTU RAJA VALLABHA	VASTU MANJARI	REMARKS
MARU DURGA (DESERT FORT)													As there is no desert in Tripura-hence there is no reference of 'Maru Durga'
JALA DURGA (WATER FORT)													Not found
VANA DURGA (FOREST FORT)													Not found
GIRI DURGA (MOUNTAIN FORT)													Not found
MRITTIKA DURGA (MUD FORT)													Not found
ASHMA DURGA (STONE FORT)													Not found
ISHTIKA DURGA (BRICK FORT)					ISHTIKA DURGA								'Kailagarh' 'Chandigarh', 'Kalmigarh' etc. may be classified as 'Ishtika Durga'
YUDDHA DURGA (BATTLE FORT)				SAINYA DURGA		YUDDHA DURGA		YUDDHA DURGA					Almost all the forts of Tripura are of 'Yuddha Durga' nature.
KRITRIMA (ARTIFICIAL FORT)		KRITRIMA					PAURUSH A DURGA		KRITRIMA				Most of the forts of Tripura are of 'Kritrima' type..
KRITRIMA (NATURAL FORT)													Not found
VAHINI DURGA (ARMY FORT)				SAHAY DURGA		VAHINI DURGA							'Bisalgarh' of Tripura may be classified as 'Vahinai Durga'
PARIKHA DURGA (DITCH FORT)				PARI KHA DURGA									'Jamir Khan-Garh of Tripura.
BHU DURGA (LAND FORT)										STHALA DURGA	BHU DURGA	BHU DURGA	All the forts of Tripura may be classified as ' Bhu Durga'
MISRA DURGA (MIXED FORT)													Not found

Table -I.
CLASSIFICATION OF FORTS OF TRIPURA AS GIVEN IN VARIOUS INDIAN TREATISES

1. Sharma, Major S. P., "Art of War in Ancient India", in, Bhatia, H. S. (ed.), Political Legal and Military History of India, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1984, P. 367.

2. Basham, A. L., The Wonder that was India, London, 1977, P. 129.

3. Haig, Lt. Col. Sir Wolesley, "The Armies of the East India Company", in, Dodwell, H. H., (ed.), The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, New Delhi, 1st Edition, P. 159.

4. Sen Kaliprasanna, Sri Rajamala, (in Bengali), Vol. II, Agartala, 1337 T. E (1927 A. D.), P. 120

5. Pal, Major H. Bhisham, The Territorial Army, New Delhi, 1983, P. XIII.

6. Ibid., P. 1.

7. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 119.

8. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Progressive Tripura, Calcutta, 1930, P. 19.

9. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Rajamala, (in Bengali), Comilla, 1896, Part III, Chapter - 3, P. 41 (see New Edition, 1984, Agartala, Edited by Chakravarti, Mahadev, etal. Vol. I, P. 73).

10. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, PP. 141-143.

11. Ibid., P. 198.

12. Ibid., P. 120.

13. Loc. cit.

14. Ibid., P. 198.

15. Acharyya, N. N. The History of Medieval Assam, New Delhi, 1984, P. 117.

16. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 120.

17. Majumder, R. C. (ed.), The History and Culture of the Indian People : The Maratha Supremacy, Bomby, Vol. VIII, 1977, P. 563.

18. Sen, Kaliprasanna, OP. cit., Vol. II. Pp. 120-121.

19. Dutta, Dwijendra Chandra, & Bandyopadhyay, Suprasanna, Rajgi Tripura Sarkari Bangla, (in Bengali), Education Department, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1976, P. 91.

20. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II P. 122.

21. Bhatia, H. S. (ed.) Op. cit., Vol. 4, New Delhi, 1984, P. 378.

22. Basham, A. L., Op. Cit., P. 122

23. Cf. Bhakari, Major S. K., Indian Warfare, New Delhi, 1981, P. 88.

24. Alem, Jean-Pierre, Espionage and Counter-Espionage, New Delhi, 1985, P. 1.

25. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, 1341 T. E (1931 A. D.), P. 200

26. Mohendra Manikya, the Raja (king) of Tripura, sent an embassy to Assam. The Tripura envoy, Aribhimnarayan, was received at the Ahom Court in October 1713. The Ahom envoys also proceeded to Tripura in the same year.

    - Dutta, S. C., The North-East and The Mughals (1661-1714). Delhi, 1984, P. 181.

27. Cf. Bhakari, Major S. K., Op. cit., P. 31.

28. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, the Art of War in Medieval India, New Delhi, 1984, P. 93.

29. Basham, A. L., Op. cit., P. 132.

30. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 116; Sandys, E. F., History of Tripura, Calcutta, 1915, P. 17; Long, Rev. James, "Analysis of the Bengali poems Rajamala, or chronicles of

Tripura", in, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XIX, Calcutta, 1850, P. 546.

31. Das, S. T., Indian Military - It's History and Development, New Delhi 1969, P. 58.

32. Marx Karl and Engles, Frederick, Collected Works, Vol. 18, Moscow, 1982, P. 340.

33. Bhakari, Major S. K., Op. cit., P. 72.

34. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 118.

35. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, Op. cit., P. 97.

36. Sing, S. D. Ancient Indian Weapons with Special Reference to the Vedic Period, Leiden, 1965, P. 68.

37. Bhakari, Major S. K., Op. cit., P. 55.

38. Hittle, Lt. Col. J. D. Jomini and his Summary of the Art of War, Washington, 1947, P. 151.

39. Sarkar, jagadish Narayan, Op. cit., P. 98.

40. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Op. cit., Part II. Chapter 4, P. 57 (New Edition, 1984, Agartala, P. 87); Sen, Kaliprasanna, Sri Rajamala, Vol. II, P. 116; Long Rev-James, "Analysis of the Rajamala or Chronicles of Tripura", in, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XIX, Calcutta, 1850, P. 546'; Sandys, E. F., Op. cit., P. 17.

41. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, P. 190.

42. Cf. B. 1/S.4/1329 T. E/F. No FI-I/598, 6,6,1919 A. D. Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, P. 2. See Appendix 'B', point (b). I-I

43. Sen Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II P. 190.

44. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, Op. cit., P. 104.

45. Bhakari, Major S. K. Op. cit., P. 61.

46. Majumder, R. C., (ed.), The History and Culture of the Indian people : The Mughal Empire, Vol. VII, Bombay, 1974, P. 534.

47. Cf. Bhakari, Major S. K., Op. cit., P. 62.

48. Ibid., P. 66.

49. Sen Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, P. 175;

Bandyopadhyay, Suprasanna, Tripurar Itihash, (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1982, P. 7.

50. Dutta, S. C. The North-East and the Mughals (1661-1714) Delhi, 1984, P. 236.

51. Hunter, W. W. , A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. VI, Delhi, 1973, P. 466.

52. Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, Op. cit., P. 191.

53. Ibid., P. 196.

54. Sen Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, P. 175.

55. Loc. cit.

56. Ibid., P. 182.

57. Sen Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 118.

58. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, Op. cit., P. 255.

59. Majumder, R. C., Op. cit., P. 534.

60. Bhatia, H. S. (ed.), Military Dictionary and Encyclopedia, New Delhi, 1982, P. 254.

61. Pant G. N., Studies in Indian Weapons and Warfare, Delhi, 1970, P. 1.

62. Fuller, J. F. C., Armament and History, New Delhi, 1971, P. 19.

63. Cf. Ibid., P. 18.

64. Sen, kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, P. 176;

"The vast Tripura army", according to A. C. Bhattacharyya, "used to go to the battle field equipped with a variety of arms and means of transportation. In olden times, the bow and the arrow, the sword and the shield were used against the enemy in battle. The Rajamala contains accounts of the use of guns and connons, besides many other indigenous implements of war including pointed and poisoned bamboo poles"

- Bhattacharyya, A. C. Op. cit., PP. 106-107.

65. Barpujari, H. K. Problem of the Hill Tribles, North-East Frontier 1822-42, Vol. 1, 1970, P. 9.

66. Lewin, T. H. Wild Races of the Eastern Frontier of India, Delhi, Reprinted 1984, PP. 35-36.

67. Stone, George Camerson, A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and use of arms and Armour in all times, together with some closely Related Subjects, Portland, 1934, Reprinted New York, 1961, P. 203;

68. Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham, A Description of India and Oriental Armour, London, Reprint 1896, P. 163.

69. Mahishasuramardini, Kali, Mahakali and other deities are often portrayed holding this type of sword.

70. Palit, Major General D. K., The Essentials of Military Knowledge, Dehra Dun (India), 1970, PP. 35-36.

71. Stone, George Camerson, Op. cit., P. 350.

72. Pant, G. N. Indian Arms and Armour, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1980, P. 48.

73. Two types of Khargas are found in the eastern area of India. One used in sacrifice that has an apparent similarity with the Dao or Ram Dao only that it is more massive. Yet another type more decorative in shape, a crescent at the end of the gradually tapering blade, can be found in the hands of the deities like

'Kali' and Durga.

74. Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham, Op. cit., P. 102.

75. Pant, G. N. Vol. II, Op. cit., PP. 67-70.

76. It is interesting to note that in eastern region, the Kharga is considered as the sacrificial instrument where as the Ram Dao is considered as the weapon of offence.

77. Basham, A. L. Op. cit., P. 194.

78. Cf. Pant, G. N., Indian Arms and Armour, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1978, P. 123.

79. Loc. cit.

80. Bhatia, H. S. (ed.), Military History of British India (1607-1947), New Delhi, 1977, P. 66.

81. Sen Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, P. 176.

82. Cf. Pant, G. N., Op. cit., P. 109

83. Loc. cit.

84. Bhatia, H. S. (ed.) Military Dictionary and Encyclopedia, New Delhi, 1982, P. 25.

85. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, P. 176.

86. Pant, G. N. Op. cit., P. 77.

87. Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham, Op. cit., P. 18.

88. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, P. 176.

89. The description relates more to an indigenous bomb than a cannon proper. The chroniclers might have referred to explosive balls made of strong hide thrown by cannons. But idea of devising explosive balls appears far-fetched. Therefore, in all likely hood, it was an explosive contraption like a bomb or grenade. A cannon made of hide, however strong, is not likely

to retain and build-up the required pressure to project a ball.

90. Fuller, J. F. C., Op. cit., P. 85.

91. Das, S. T. Op. cit., P. 7.

92. Dighe, V. G and Qanungo, S. N., "Administrative and Military System"; in, Majumdar, R. C. (ed.). The History and cultural of the Indian People-The Maratha Supremacy. Bombay, Vol. VIII, 1977, P. 563.

93. Bhakari, Major S. K., Op. cit., P. 121.

94. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, The Military Despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General, Calcutta, 1969, P. 139.

95. Cf. Begde, Prabhakar, V., Fórts and Palaces of India, New Delhi, 1982, P. 7.

96. Cf. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, The Art of War in Medieval India, New Delhi, 1984, P. 143.

97. Thomas, F. W., 'Political and Social Organisation of the Maurya Empire', In, Rapson, E. J., (ed.), The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1965, P. 442.

98. Montgomery of Almein, Field Marshal Viscount, A History of Warfare, London, 1968, P. 406, (Cf. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, Op cit., P. 150.

99. Begde, Prabhakar V., Op. cit., P. 4.

100. Bhatia, H. S. (ed.), Military Dictionary and Encyclopedia, New Delhi, 1982, P. 64.

101. Verma, Amrit, Forts of India, New Delhi, 1985, P. 30.

102. Ibid., P. 68.

103. Ibid., P. 88, 90.

104. Sarkar Jagadish Narayan, Op. cit., Map on Maratha Forts, To face P. 145.

105. Ibid., P. 148.

106. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Op. cit., P. 108.

107. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, Op. cit., PP. 152-153.

108. Dutta, S. C., The North-East and the Mughals (1661-1714), Delhi, 1984, P. 237.

109. The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 'Fortifications', Vol. 7, U. S. A. 1977, P. 549; - The present author has tried his utmost to find out the reference of 'Mrittika-Durga' (Mud Fort) in Tripura either in the literature of the State or in any other archalogical specimen, but could not find such reference anywhere. However, the present author still believs that in Medieval Tripura there were definitely some 'Mrittika-Durgas', though these are lost into oblivion.

110. Begde, Prabhakar V. Op. cit., P. 12.

111. The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Op. cit., P. 548.

112. Cf. Begde, Prabhakar V. Op. cit., P. 12.

113. Author's interview with Haridas Chakraborty (70 years old) and Nanigopal Chakraborty (39 years old) at Kailagarh on 8 March, 1987. Both of them are priests of the kali temple of Kailagarh.

114. Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, Op. cit., PP. 318-19.

115. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 275.

116. Haridas Chakraborty of kailagarh gave the reference of Araibari to the author in course of his conversation on 8 March, 1987.

117. As per direction of Anu Miah Sardar (84 years old) of Chandigarh, Krishna Mohan Das (45 years old), a local Panchayet member of that area guided the author to locate the place of the ruined fort of 'Chandigarh' on 12 May, 1987.

118. Author's interview with Aptar Ali, a local man of 101 years old

and with another local man, Kazi Abdul Hock of 60 years old at Kalmigrah on 17 May, 1987.

119. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., vol. I, 1336 T. E. (1926 A. D.), P. 262.

120. Loc. cit.

121. The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Op. cit., P. 548.

122. Author was guided by Abdul Rahim (80 years old) of jamir Khan Garh on 12 April, 1987.

123. Marshall, Sir John, "The Monuments of Muslim India". in Haig, Sir Wolselley (ed.). The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, New Delhi, 1965, P. 632.

124. Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, Op. cit., P. 317.

125. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 144.

CHAPTER - III

ART AND TACTICS OF COUDUCTING

DIFFERENT BATTLES

References to invasions and battles through out the period under study are available in plenty, but the military datails of those operations are either sketchy or absent. Therefore, it is rather difficult to find out precisely a pattern of warfare that was followed by the Kings of ,tripura from time to time. Since any study of military history remains incomplete without the analysis of the battles and wars fought in that particular region, efforts have been made in the present study to trace out the structure of some important battles on the basis of data-historical and geographical, available from the sources studied.

A list of important battles is given in Table 'I'. The list of the battles mentioned in the table is rather large but relevant details about many of these could not be traced out. Therefore, a few case-studies have been selected for analysis. It is to be noted that the quarrels between the Nawabs of Bengal and the Manikya Kings of Tripura, since the days of Dhanya Manikya, broke out over the question of the possession of Chittagong.

Table - I.
LIST OF IMPORTANT BATTLES

TABLE-I.

LIST OF IMPORTANT BATTLES

NAME OF TRIPURA KINGS	CONTESTANTS	YEAR OF BATTLES (IN A.D.) IF AVAILABLE	REMARKS
1. Dhanya Manikya (c.1490-1520 A.D.)	Tripura And Nawab Hussain Shah of Bengal	1st. Operation C. 1493 2nd. Operation C.1513-14 3rd. Operation C.1514-15	Nature of Operation is very interesting
2. Deva Manikya (C.1520-1530 A.D.)	Tripura Force and Bengal Army Under Sultan Nasrath Shah		Nasrath Shah succeeded in ousting Tripura's army from Chittagong.
3. Vijay Manikya (C.1532-1563 A.D.)	Tripura and Sultan Suleiman Karrani, King of Gour	C.1557-63	Tactics followed by Vijay Manikya are important.
4. Uday Manikya (C.1567-1572 A.D)	Tripura and Mughal or Pathan		There is a controversy amoung scholars regarding the war between Uday Manikya and his enemy. According to Kailash Chandra Sigha (Rajamala. Vol. I, P.91) Uday Manikya waged battle against the Mughals. But Kaliprasanna Sen (Rajmala Vol.II,P.133) thinks that Uday Manikya measured his sword not with the Mughals but with the Pathans.
5. Amar Manikya (C.1577-1586 A.D.)	i. Tripura and Bhulua State (now in Bangladesh). ii. Tripura and Saiyad Adom, King of Tarap (now in bangladesh) iii. Tripura and Fate Khan of Sylhet (now in Bangladesh) iv) Tripura and Rasanga(Arakan)	C.1578 C.1578 C.1580-81 C.1586	At the first phase Amar Manikya's Victories and then defeat at the hands of the forces of Arakhan. The Garuda Vhuha strategy, as followed by Amar Manikya, is an interesting episode.
6. Rajdhar Manikya (C.1586-1600 A.D.)	Tripura and Sultan of Bengal		Hasty retreat of Rajdhar.
7. Yasodhar Manikya (C.1601-1622 A.D.)	Tripura and Ibrahim Khan Fatejang of Bengal	1618	The Nawab of Bengal occupied the planes of Tripura.
8. Kalyan Manikya (C.1625-1660 A.D.)	Tripura and Sultan Suja of Bengal	C.1625-27	Though Rajmala opines that kalian Manikya could defend his country; but during the later years of his reign Kalyan Manikya was perhaps defeated and a portion of Tripura was annexed to the Mughal Empire and enlisted as "Sarkar Udaipur' as evident from the Revenue Records of Bengal Subha prepared at the time of Sultan Sujah.
9. Dharma Manikya II (C.1714-1729 A.D)	Tripura Force and Mughal Army under the leadership of Mir Habib.	1729	Since the time of Dharma Manikya II, the Kings of Tripura has been in possession of Roshnabad only as zamindars after facing defeats at the hands of the Nawab of Bengal.

Source : Singha, Kailash Chandra, Rajmala, (In Bengal), Comilla, 1896,(New Edition,1984, Agartala, Edited by Chakravarti, Mahadev, etal,) Sen, Kaliprasanna, Sri Rajmala,(In Bengal), Agartala.

A. OPERATION OF HUSSAIN SHAH AGAINST DHANYA MANIKYA OF TRIPURA

It is interesting to reconstruct and record the past wars for a number of reasons. Besides dense forests, the land map of Tripura is traversed even today by several hill ranges and rivers and the geo-physical features of the land determined the nature of military operations. We come to learn from a document that the "first regular warfare" with the Muslim rulers of Bengal was during the time of Dhanya Manikya. [1] Due to paucity of documents and records, it is difficult to give a detailed account of the battles and the nature of these battles, still an attempt is made here to draw an outline.

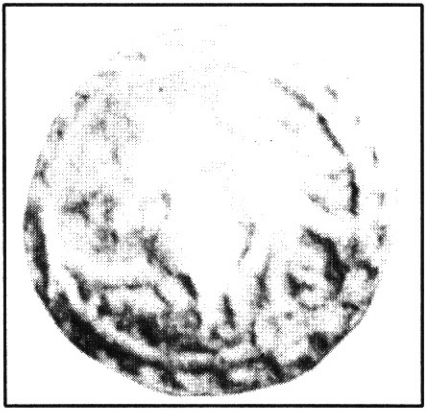
Dhanya Manikya used the title "Vijayindra" (conqueror) in his coin Saka 1428 (i. e. 1506 A. D.) (see Coin No. I) and "Chatigrama Vijayi" (i. e. conqueror of Chittagong) in his coin of Saka 1435 (i. e. 1513-1514 A. D.). These two coins were perhaps issued on the occasions of his grand victory over Hussain Shah.[2] The Rajamala (Chronicles of the Kings of Tripura) eulogizes the military achievement of Dhanya Manikya. E. F. Sandys in 1915 mentions how Dhanya Manikya sent his Riang General Chaichug Rai to attack the territory of ruler of Bengal and ultimately how he captured the important Mughal garrison at Chittagong (known as Islamabad to the Mughals i. e.. 'the Abode of the faith'). It is to avenge that disgrace, in the words of E. F. Sandys that, Dhanya Manikya was attacked three times by the Mughals.[3]

PLATE - I

Coin - I

Coin of Dhanya Manikya

(i)
Obverse
'Vijayindra'



(ii)
Reverse

It is interesting to note that the court poets of Bengal Parameswar Das and Shrikar Nandi, do not make any mention of Dhanya Manikya's victory over Mughal garrison and his capture of Chittagong, though they claim that Hussain Shah, the ruler of Bengal, had easily conquered a big portion of Tripura. [4] According to Sunnargaon inscription [5] (date 7-6-1513 A. D.), it may be said that Hussain Shah occupied some tract of Tripura by 1513 A. D.

1(a) Nature of Operation :

Thus we have confusing accounts of the results of wars between Dhanya Manikya and the ruler of neighbouring Bengal in different sources of history. This is a point that needs be kept in mind and emphasized, because due to dearth of authentic materials, we are sometimes led to arrive at wrong conclusions. As students of military history, we are interested in searching materials for the nature of operations of both Hussain Shah and Dhanya Manikya as this hilly State provided ample opportunities for different types of attacks by the enemies. In all the three campaigns the Generals of both Hussain Shah and Dhanya Manikya adopted the intelligent tactical use of terrain causing surprise and havoc on the opponent. Victory was achieved by that power which took the upper hand by mobilising army to the up-stream of the river, comparatively an advantageous position if compared to the mobilisation of the enemy army down-stream. We have instances of intelligent tactical use of the terrain and river in the military history of Bengal also. For example, in the encounter between Isha Khan and Man Singh, Isha Khan in almost all the cases, took the chance of availing ebb and

flow-tide of the river. [6] But the unique feature of Tripura was the tactics of both Hussain Shah and Dhany Manikya of inundating the bank of the river Gumti by building temporary dams and breaking the same in time to drown the enemies.

In fact. the art of planning operations in war in this hilly terrain of Tripura and the tactics of using the water of the river against the enemy by both Hussain Shah and Dhanya Manikya have perhaps very few parallels in world history.

Let us now narrate in detail the operations one by one.

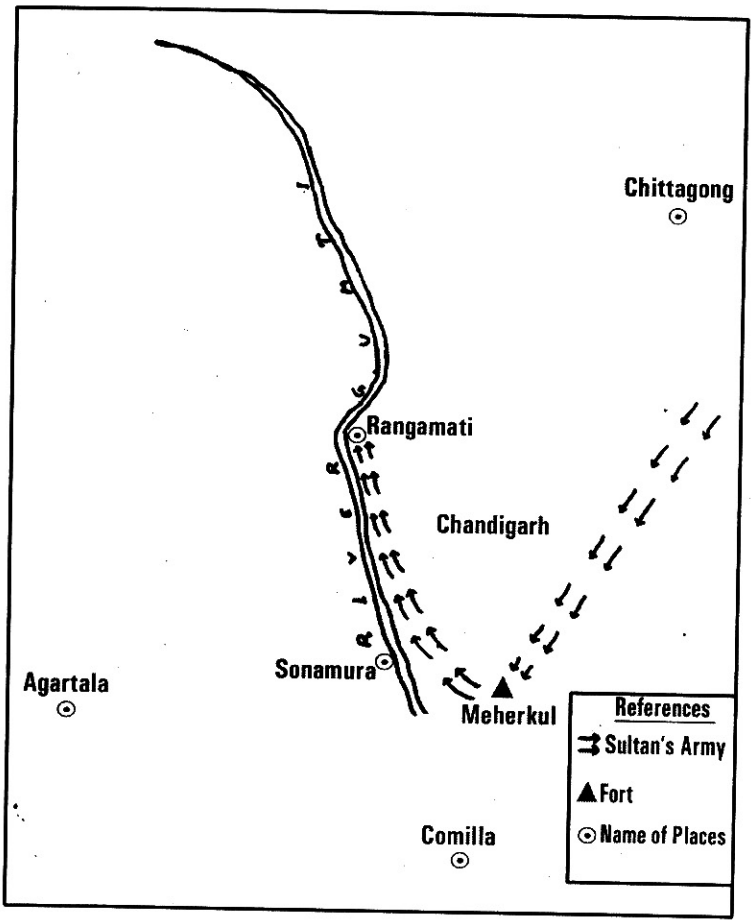
First Operation :

Regarding this operation, we have conflicting opinions but regarding the strategy (which is the art of making war on the map and comprehends the whole theatre of operations[7]) and tactics (the art of handling troops in battle[8]) used in this war, there is no controversy among scholars. Under the generalship of Gour Mallik, Hussain Shah sent a vast army gathered from the twelve provinces of Bengal to invade Tripura in c. 1513 A. D. The Sultan's army attacked from the south and reached upto 'Meherkul', a fort of the King of Tripura. The Tripura army could not resist the enemy and the Bengal force marched into the interior instead. [9] Under the General Chaichag Rai of Dhanya Manikya, the soldiers of Tripura then took shelter in the fort of 'Chandigarh' and unresisted Sultan's army advanced towards 'Rangamati', the then capital of Tripura. Meanwhile, the Tripura soldiers dammed up the river Gumti at 'Sonamura', where it debauches into the plains. The Tripura soldiers then cut open the dyke at night as a

result of which the Mughal encampment was swept away and most of the soldiers were drowned. [10]

But R. C. Majumdar thinks that General Gour Mallik of Hussain Shah after occuping the upper portion of the river Gumti constructed a dam across the river (Gumti). The embankment, as planned, was broken after three days causing heavy disaster to Dhanya Manikya and his people. [11] Sukhamay Mukhopadhyay, quoting authentic sources, points out that after the conquests of a number of strategical places of Tripura, the Sultan's force leaving the 'Chandigarh' fort aside, marched ahead and occupied the upper portion of the river Gumti. The army of Dhanya Manikya being ultimately encamped in a lower area of the bank of the same river, were in an awkward position. As such, it was quite obvious that from the strategical point of view, the army of Hussan Shah were able to hold the upper hand over the armies of Tripura and made a dam across the river Gumti. [12] In fact, the views of R. C. Majumdar which discard the views of Sandys and other court poets of Tripura are further corroborated by Mukhopadhyay and critical student of military history can not overlook it. However, the most interesting aspect of the war was the tactics and strategy followed both by Hussain Shah and Dhanya Manikya.

CAMPAIGN OF SULTAN ARMY - I
NOT TO THE SCALE



SKETCH - I

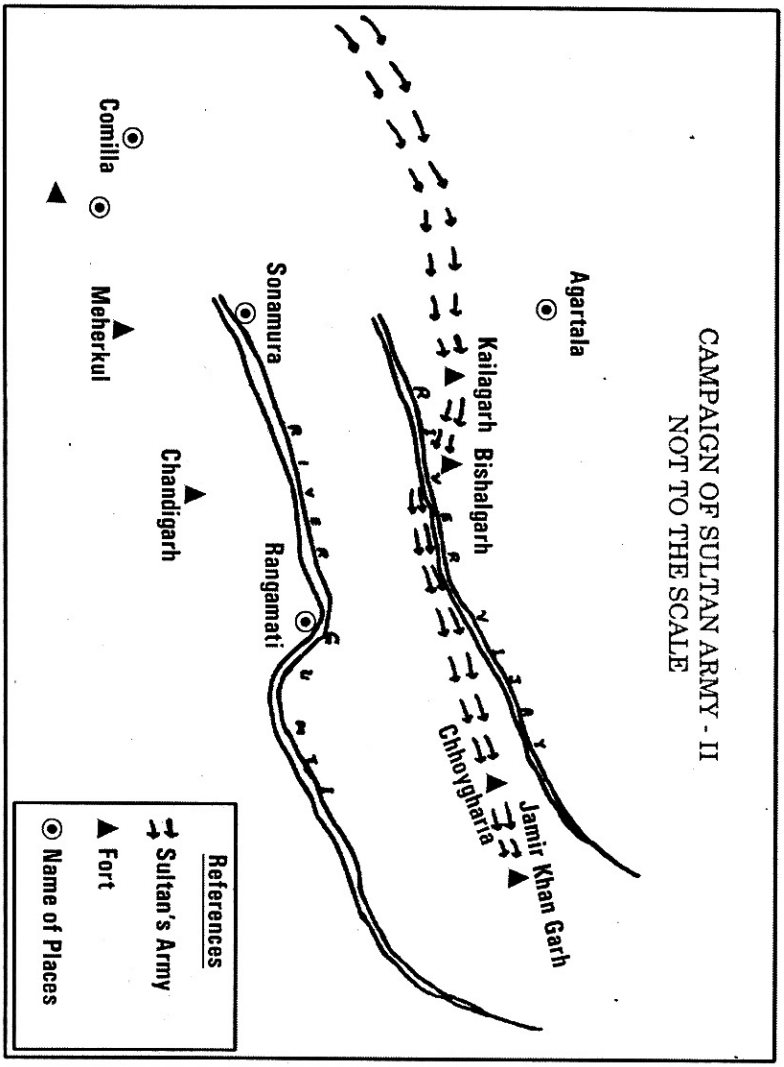
As drawn by the Present Author

Second Operation :

From the Rajamala, [13] we come to learn that while the Tripura army under the Riang Generalship of Rai Kachhag and Rai Kachham reoccupied Chittagong, Hussain Shah with an intention of taking revenge, sent the second expedition consisting of 100 elephants, 5,000 horses and 1,00,000 foot-soldiers against the Tripura king under two Generals Haitan Khan and Karab Khan. [14] In that expedition General Khan advanced on a new direction of way avoiding the previous way of 'Meherkul' of Comilla. The army of Hussain Shah proceeded towards 'Kasba', and conquered a number of strategical places like 'Kailagarh' 'Bisalgarh', Jamir Khan Garh and 'Chaygharia'. The Tripura force under the Generalship of Chaichag Rai marched to resist Haitan Khan but after a battle near 'Comilla' which lasted a day, the Tripura troops were obliged to retreat. [15] After the conquests Haitan Khan advanced towards 'Rangamati', the then capital of the kingdom of Tripura. Meanwhile, Dhany Manikya with his force encamped in a curve of the river 'Chhanganga' [16] named 'Dabdwar', an ideal place, so far as its strategical position is concerned because of its location at a higher place. Not far from the place Hussain Shash's force mobilised at 'Machhi-Chha', another curve of the same river which was strategically not an advantageous position if compared to the 'Debdwar' curve because of its location at a lower place and unsuited for both attack and counter attack. [17] In this connection, the observation of Sun Tzu needs a special mention. According to him, "ground which both we and the enemy can traverse with equal case is called accessible. In such ground, he who first takes high sunny positions convenient to his supply routes can fight

advantageously" [18]

However, in that expedition, the soldiers of Tripura followed the same stratagem which was previously initiated by Gour Mallik. While the Mughal force was trying to cross the river Gumti, a dam was cut off by the Tripura army and the roaring water swept away the army of Hussain Shah. Haiten Khan then had to retreat from the battle field and he took shelter in the fort of 'Chhaygaria'. The technique, which was adopted here was the same as was employed by the Dutch against the Spaniards at the siege of Leydon, Viz.-breaking down embankments so that hemmed in water might sweep away the enemy. [19]



SKETCH - II

As drawn by the Present Author

Third Operation :

In the third operation, Hussain Shah with a large strength met the army of Tripura led by its king Dhanya Manikya at 'Kailagarh'. At the distance of a mile on the south-western side of 'Kailagarh', the Sultan's army encamped on the bank of the river Vijay.[20] In the Rajamala, there is a sketchy reference regarding this campaign without mentioning the fate of the campaign. In this expedition, a portion of Tripura was, perhaps, annexed to Gour, and an officer was appointed to look after the occupied territory.[21] Thus, it may be said that in this operation the Sultan achieved victory over Dhanya Manikya.

These frequent operations naturally show that there must have been something to attract the ruler of Bengal to the remote State of Tipperah. However, among the causes of invasions, "elephants seem to have the coveted object and it was in these animals, says a writer in the Calcutta Review (No. XXXV. September to December, 1860), that the tribute imposed upon the Kings of Tipperah was always paid;[22] besides this, it may also be mentioned that through out the middle ages, the seizure of lands and serfs was the biggest source of swelling the revenue of the ruling class and war therefore became the main means to achieve this end.[23]

Taking an account of all the three battles together we find though Dhanya Manikya once extended his territory upto Chittagong, yet he could not hold this occupied land within his control. All these lands, subsequently, were captured by the Sultan's force and the Tripura army had

to retreat on the bank of the river Gumti. A few days after while Dhanya Manikya reoccupied Chittagong, the force of Hussain Shah again compelled the Tripura army to retreat and extended the Sultan's territory upto the bank of the river Gumti. However, the Tripura army subsequently, were able to force the enemy back to a little distance named 'Chhygaria'. Moreover, the third campaign of Hussain Shah indicates that a portion of Tripura annexed to Gour. It is thus obvious that during the regime of Dhanya Manikya, some portion of Tripura were captured by Hussain Shah. [24]

SKETCH - III

As drawn by the Present Author.

B. VIJAY MANIKYA AND SULTAN SULALMAN KARRANI :

Though only scanty information could be gathered about the battles between Vijay Manikya, the ruler of Tripura, and Sultan Sulaiman Karrani, the king of Gour, yet these battles invite the attention of an ardent student of military history. The fragmentary sketches give some hints about Vijay Manikya's perception and skill in military tactics. In this connection, it may be pointed out from an unpublished document that, " perhaps during the regime of Vijay Manikya, the military power of the kingdom reached its zenith when practically the whole eastern Bengal and the southern part of the present province of Assam were within the kingdom of Tripura". [25]

Vijay Manikya was a great military organiser. He organised foot-soldiers, archers, elephantry, cavalry, artillery and navy. [26] Besides these, king Vijay established a number of military camps in the frontier areas with a view to ensuring better security of the State.[27]

Inspite of his skill in and care for raising an effective army loyel to the monarch, once the Afghan mercenary soldiers of Vijay Manikya revolted against him. Taking advantage of this revolt, Sultan Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal sent three thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot-soldiers under the command of General Muhammad Khan against Vijay Manikya. [28]

The battle between Tripura army and the Bengal force took place in Chittagong. [29] As the Bengal army launched the first attack, the advantage of primary initiative was with them. General Khan in the first phase of expedition

pushed the Tripura force back from the battle field. King Vijay felt that it would not be possible for the Tripura army to counter the Bengal force in frontal battle, but he did not give up the idea of driving away the enemy. [30]

At dusk, after the initial victory of the Bengal army, the Bengal soldiers retired in their camps and were taking rest. They perhaps did not expect any attack in their camps. In this situation, Vijay might have observed that the Bengal troops did not make sufficient arrangement for night watch. He took advantage of this weakness of his enemy. The observation of Major Bhakri in this regard, may be mentioned. According to him, " a General should have a canny eye to detect the weaker points in the enemy line. [31] However, Vijay stealthily mobilized his troops in the vicinity of Bengal camp and under the cover of the darkness of night, the Tripura force attacked the enemy. Genral Mamarak Khan of Bengal was then imprisoned and finally was be-headed infront of the tample of fourteen Gods.[32]

Although the available accounts of this war are scanty, still those bring out the following points of Vijaya's tactics.

(i) Avoid frontal battle with superior enemy.

(ii) Be on the look-out for the weakness of the enemy.

(iii) Attack the enemy when he does not apprehend any offensive and this attack should be so planned and executed that the unprepared enemy will be crushed to the end.[33]

Further, he could bring his own troops close to the enemy without being seen and heard by the enemy, and Vijay could command and control a night attack effectively.

These tacties of Vijay Manikya might be unchivalrous and unethical from the military point of view but were effective. Chanakya epitheted such fighting as an ' unconventional tactics'. [34] In medieval age, very few military leders cared for ethics in war [35] and chivalry was substituted by cunningness. The tactics adopted by Vijay Manikya are regularly followed in the modern age. However, it can not be said that Vijay was the original innovator of these tactics of night attack, because night operations both offensive and defensive were known right from the days of the epics, [36] still it seems that he successfully introduced the tactics in war.

C. AMAR MANIKYA'S EXPEDITIONS

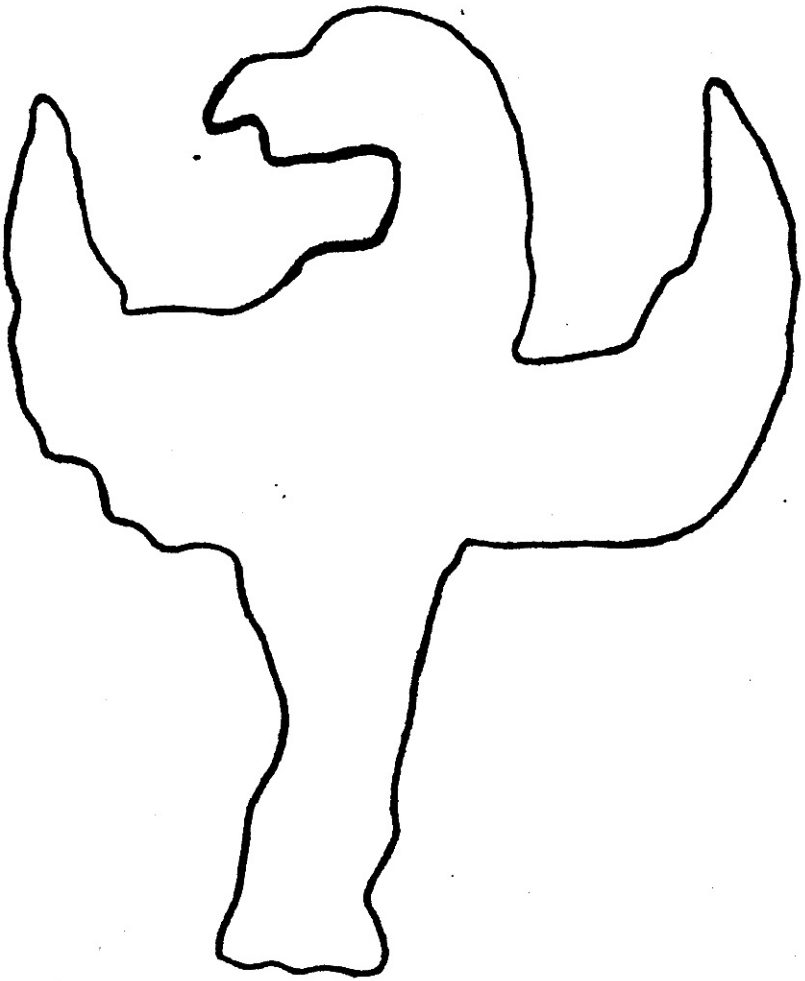
It is evident from a document that the condition of Tripura "was flourishing" during the time of Amar Manikya [37] and he made an efforts to reorganise the entire military set-up of the State.

Amar Manikya launched a number of expeditions to the neighbouring States, i.e. Bhulua, Noakhali, Bakla, Tarap, Sylhet (all are now territories of Bangladesh), Rashanga (Arakan). [38] Due to paucity of documents, it is difficult to give a descriptive account of every invasion. However , in all these expeditions except in Sylhet and Rashanga (Arakan)Amar Manikya with his vast army could easily difeat his neighbouring States. The rivals could not make any counter attack against the Tripura army and naturally , the king of Tripura extended his supremacy over those occupied territories. But detailed accounts of strategy and technique applied in those expeditions are not found in any of the work consulted.

In Sylhet campaign , Amar Manikya sent his army under the generalship of Rajdhar Narayan against Fate Khan, the Pathan ruler. In this invasion, river Surma (now in Bangladesh) was selected by the General to mobilise the Tripura army against Fate Khan. The Pathan soldiers on the other hand, were proceeding to confirm the Tripura army and in a village named ' Godharanee', the forces were involved in battle.[39]

The Tripura army, in this operation, formed a " Garuda Vyuha" against the enemy. [40] In ancient India, there were a number of battle arrays called ' Vyuha', evolved in war. These were, according to Manu :Dand, Shakat, Varah,

SKETCH - IV



AMAR MANIKYA'S
GARUDA VYUHA - AN OUTLINE

Drawn by the Present Author.

Soochi, Garuda, Makar, Padma and Vajr Har.[41] According to Rev-James Long in his Analysis of the Rajmala, the formation of the Garuda Vyuha adopted in the State army was such that " the order of the troops in battle resembled in figure the sacred bird Garuda, the two generals in the van represented the beack, the troops on the flanks the wing, and the main army the body." [42]

Formation of the army in Guruda Vyuha by Amar Manikya in the sixteenth century evokes considerable interest. During the days of 'Kurukshetra' war', it was considered to be a very strong one. [43] Perhaps this formation was considered important during the early period of Indian History, but with the arrival of Afghan-Moghal Generals in India,the pattern of the formation changed considerably. In the changed formation, the commander of the entire army normally used to stay at the centre. Being in the centre, the commander could exercise effective command and control over all the parts of the formation and the commander himself remained well protected. On the other hand,in the traditional Garuda Vyuha, the commander used to lead the army from the beak of the bord, i.e. from the front. In the Gardu Vyuha organised by Amar Manikya in Sylhet expedition, the commander might have remained at the beak, i.e. in the front. Being in front, the commander can put up good examples to his subordinate soldiers, but his control over entire formation can not remain firm and effective, as to build up the Garuda Vyuha, normally a large number of soldiers are required.

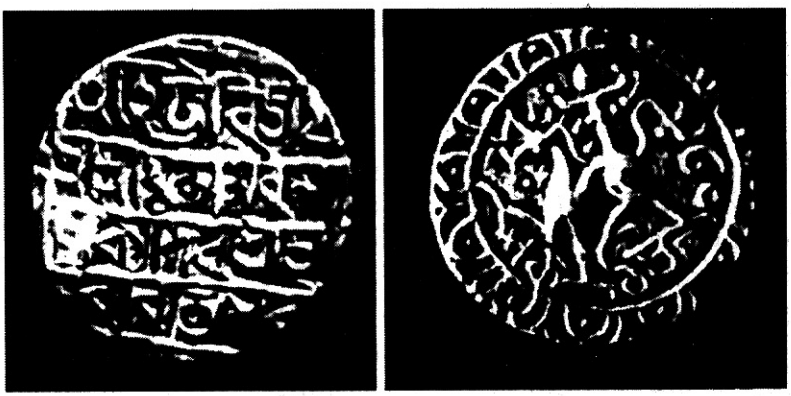
So, if the Garuda Vyuha is compared with the changed formation, the former one appears to be less scientific.

Yet, why did Amar Manikya make this formation ? Was it due to his adherence to old traditions or for some other tactical reason? However, it may be mentioned here that the Garuda Vyuha affords all round protection. And as the Tripura forces had to go uphill through some forest covered terrain for reaching Sylhet. Amar Manikya, perhaps, felt-that if the forces were formed up in Garuda Vyuha, they would be better protected against any surprise attack from any side, and the presence of commander in the front of the formation would keep the moral of the troops up.

On the basis of the above discussion, it may be said that Amar Manikya unlike many other military commanders of medieval India, had the ingenuity to adopt an ancient Indian formation i.e. the Garuda Vyuha to suit the requirements of the terrian, and in Sylhet campaign, this formation seems to have been very effective because the Tripura army by adopting this technique, defeated Fateh Khan and a coin of Amar Manikya issued in 1581 A.D. on the occasion of his victorty over Sylhet has been discovered. (See the Coin - II).

In Rashanga (Arakan) invasion (C. 1587 A.D), General Rajdhar Narayan of Tripura was sent with a vast army against Sikandar Shah, the King of Arakan. Portuguese mercenaries were also enlisted in the artillery of Tripura army. In this compaign, General Rajdhar first mobilised his troops to Chittangong and then he occupied six military camps of Arakan after crossing the 'Karnafully' by making a barrage across the river. During the initial thrust of attack, the Mughal soldiers were frightened by the strength of Tripura army. But they held on to their ground and subsequently managed to break the moral and espirit-de-

PLATE - II
Coin - II
Coin of Amar Manikya



(i)
Obverse
'Sri Hatta (Sylhet)
Vijay

(ii)
Reverse

corps of the Tripura soldiers. [44]

The Mughal soldiers made a secret contact with the Portuguese mercenary only and were able to convince them to retreat from the occupied military camps of Arakan. It is said that they also created some logistics problems for the Tripura army. [45] Thus the advantageous position of the Tripura soldiers was effectively neutralised and their moral was dampened. Before the Tripura soldiers could recover themselves from the set back, the Mughal attacks were intensified and finally General Rajdhar Narayan was defeated by the rival army. The Mughal soldiers then marched upto Rangamati (now Udaypur) of Tripura. [46]

Here the observation of Edward Gait needs a special mention. According to him, " the relations between the Muhammadans and the Tipperas are very obscure. Various collisions are mentioned in the Rajamala, and several victories are claimed by the Tippera Kings, as well as occasional conquest of Sylhet , but, in the end, the Muhammadans extended their rule over the whole of the plains, and the Tippera Raja was compelled to pay revenue on his estates there".[47]

However, from the little bit of accounts that could be gathered about the military operations of three Tripura Kings, it may be concluded that despite their limited strength and lack of properly trained soldiers, the Tripura Kings proved themselves ingenious in their military exploits inasmuch as Dhanya Manikya could inundate his enemy encampments and thus frustrate their military ambitions by cutting open dams which had earlier been

built up by his men overnight while Vijay Manikya had the shrewdness to take advantage of a lapse and negligence of the Bengal army who had left their camps unguarded during night when they were resting. He launched an unconventional attack on his sleeping enemies during night which today is quite an accepted practice among all fighting units, though in the middle ages this was considered unchivalrous. Amar Manikya, on the other hand, did not depart from any conventional practice, rather he used a very ancient and traditional battle formation known as ' Garuda Vyuha' to win a battle in the difficult terrian of Sylhet, where no other battle formation could have perhaps let him to victory. Neither inundation of enemy camps nor attack on unwary enemy at night, nor use of the battle formation called ' Garuda Vyuha' can of course be called an ingenuity on the part of these Tripura Kings in the proper sense of the term. Yet their ingenuity lay in the successful use of these already existing tactics to suit their peculiar needs of the hours.

1. B. No. 1/S.4/1329 T. E. (1919 A. D.), File No. FI-I, P. 3, Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, See Appendix - 'B'.

2. Bandyopadhyay, Suprasanna, Tripurar Itihash, (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1982, P. 5; Menon K. D., Tripura District Gazetteers, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1975, P. 77.

3. Sandys, E. F., History of Tripura, Calcutta, 1915, PP. 14-15.

4. Mukhopadhyay, Sukhamay, Banglar Itihasher Doosho Bachhar, (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1966, PP. 327-28; Habibullah, Dr. A. B. M., "the Hussain Shahi Dynesty : 1493-1538", in, Sarkar, Jadunath (ed.), The History of Bengal, Muslim Period (1200-1757), Patna (India), 1973, PP. 149-50.

5. Sunnargaon Inscription : God Almighty syas, 'surely he will build the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and who establishes prayer and gives the legal alms, and fears no one except God. Such perhaps shall belong to those that are guided' (Qoran, IXI, 13). The prophet - may God bless him - has said, 'he who builds a mosque in this worlds, shall have evently castles built for him by God in Paradise'. This mosque was built in the reign of the Sultan of the age, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, Alauddunya Waddin Abul Muzaffer Hussain Shah May God perpetuate his kindom and rule, and elevate his condition and dignity, and render, in every minute, his proof victorious : - by the great and noble Khan, namely Khawac Khan, Governor of the Land of Tipurah and Vazir of the District Muazzamabad, - may god preserve him in both worlds.

   Dated, 2nd Rabi II, 919 (7 June, 1513)

   - Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1872, P. 333.

6. Sensarma, Major P., The Military History of Bengal, Calcutta, 1977, P. 111.

7. Hittle, Lt. Col. J. D., Jomini and His Summary of the Art of

War, Washington, 1947, P. 66.

8. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, A study of Eighteenth Century India, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1976, P. 292.

9. Mandal,, Sushila, History of Bengal, Part - 1, Calcutta, 1970, P. 221.

10. Sandys, E. F., Op. cit., P. 15.

11. Majumdar, R. C., Bangla Desher Itihash; (in Bengali), Vol I, Calcutta, 1968, P. 34.

12. Mukhopadhyay, Sukhamay, Op. cit., P. 325.

13. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Sri Rajamala, (in Bengali), Vol. II, 1337 T E. (1927 A. D.), Agartala P. 127.

14. To qoute Hunter, W. W. A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. VI, Delhi, 1973, P. 465 "In 1512 the Tipperah General conquered Chittagong, and defeated the Gaur troops who defended it. A strong force from the twelve provinces of Bengal was then sent against the Raja's country; but the Tipperah army made a dike across the Gumti, and after confining the water for three days, borke the embankment, and the torrent forced the Mughul troops to retreat. A second army was despatched to conquer Rangamati, the capital of Tipperah, but, by the aid of the river, the Muhammadan force was a second time repulsed".

15. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XIX, Calcutta, 1850, P. 543.

16. According to Rajamala, The river Chhanganga originated from the eastern side and united with river Gumti but its actual course is not clear.

17. Mukhopadhyay, Sukhamay, Op. cit., P. 323

18. Sun Tzu - The Art of War, Translated and with an introduction by Samuel B. Griffith; Oxford University Press, 1971.

19. Journal Of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Op. cit., P. 544.

20. Sengupta, Kaliprasanna, Pancha Manikya, (in Bengali), Agartala, 1351 T. E. (1941 A. D.) P. 20.

21. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XII, Calcutta, P. 333.

22. Hunter, W. W., Op. cit., P. 466.

23. Juneja, M. M., Why War? Haryana, 1984, P. 27.

24. Apurba Chandra Bhattacharyya has narrated the military achievements of Dhanya Manikya in this way :

"After reorganising his army, Dhanya turned his attention towards the conquest of Bengal, and within a short time conquered Meherkul, Patikara, Ganga-Mondal, Bagasair, Bejura, Bhanugach, Bishnajuri, Longla, Bardakhat, etc. but the ruler of Khandal did not accept the subjugation of Tripura. He captured the Governor of Tripura and sent him as a captive to the King of Gour, who got him trampled to death by an elephant. This naturally enraged Dhanya Manikya who sent his Commander Roy Kachag to Khandal. By clever diplomcy Roy Kachag brought the 12 Landholders of Khandal before Dhanya Manikya and got them assasinated. Khandal then came under the sub-jugation of Tripura.

At this time a quarrel arose with the Kukees over the possession of a white elephant. The Kukees occupied the deep forest called Thanangchi lying to the east of Tripura and west of the Lushai Hills. Tripura soldiers under Roy Kachag poured over the Kukee land and occupied the territory and also extorted the allegiance of the Kukees in the Lushai Hills. This expedition extended the boundary of the Tripura State upto the frontiers of Burmah.

The war of Dhanya Manikya with Hossein Shah, Nawab of Gour, for supremacy over Chittagong, is a most memorable historical event. It was a long and terrible war. The King of Tripura drove out the army of the Nawab from Chittagong and

took possession of his territory. At this Hossein Shah sent a vast army under his general Gour Mallik which met the Tripura forces first at Meherkul and then at Chandigarh near modern Sonamura. In the first battle the forces of Tripura were routed but in the second, they met with a decisive victory. Most of the Nawab's soldiers met watery graves in the violent current of the Gumti. The tank, popularly called "Dhanyer Dighi", with the memorial tower on its bank still stands as a living witness to the great success achieved by king Dhanya But the Nawab of Gour was not the man to bear the insult lying down. He sent another big army under Haiton Khan. Haiton attained some success and occupied a few forts of Tripura but his soldiers were ultimately routed and drowned in the river.

Dhanya Manikya signalised this victory over the Nawab by building in 1501 A. D. the famous temle of Tripura Sundari at Udaypur and immortalised himself by various works of public utility".

- Bhattacharyya, A. C., Progressive Tripura, Calcutta, 1930, PP. 19-21.

25. B-62/S-25/1928 A. D./Political, Secretariat Archives, Govt of Tripura, Agartala, P. 3.

26. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 116.

27. Sengupta, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., P. 38.

28. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Rajamala, (in Bengali), Comilla, 1896, Part - II, Chapter-4, PP. 56-57 (see New Edition, Agartala, 1984 PP. 129-130, edited by Chakravarti, Mahadev, etal., Vol. I, P. 86); Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II,

29. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Ibid., P. 57 (New Edition, P. 87)

30. There is a mention in Chanakya's theory of Mobile Warfare that "when forntal attack is unfavourable, one should strike the enemy from behind." Chenghis Khan used it as his favourite tactics as was done by Sherman during the American civil war. In recent years, the Israelis proved it during the Yom Kippur War.

- Chandra, Lt. Col. B. Khanduri, "Military Advancement in Ancient India", in, Bhatia, H. S. (ed.), Political Legal and Military History of India, Vol. 2, New Delhi, 1984, P. 346.

31. Bhakari, Major S. K., Indian Warfare, New Delhi, 1981, P. 144.

32. Singha, Kailash Chandrs, Op. cit., P. 58 (see new Edition, Vol. I, P. 87).

33. "The Nagas in India always practised almost the same tactics in warfare, i. e., before attacking the enemy, disperse, harass and tire the enemy; do not fight the enemy when he wants to; select your own time and place; when the enemy advances; chase him when he withdraws; strike him when he is off-guard or weary; do not let him rest; when he stops; hit his vulnerable points; do not allow him to exploit his assets and superior resources".

- Anand, V. K., Conflict in Nagaland - A Study of Insurgency and Counter Insurgency, Delhi, 1980.

34. Chandra Lt. Col. B. Khanduri, "Military Advancement in Ancient India", in Bhatia, H. S. (ed.). Op. cit., P. 346.

35. "As regards the ethics of fighting, the Greeks received an impression of something not unchivalrous...." - Thomas, F. W., "political and Social Organisation of the Maurya Empire, in, Rapson, E. J., (ed.), The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1965, P. 442.

36. Bhakari, Major S. K., Op. cit., P. 187.

37. Letter from Chief Dewan, Political Department, to the Editor, Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, B. No. 1/S.4/1329 T. E. (1919 A. D.) File No. FI-I, Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, P. 4, See Appendix 'B'.

38. Amar Manikya, in the words of A. C. Bhattacharyya, "defeated and brought under control the rebellious Zemindars of Taraf in Sylhet and compelled the insubordinate Raja of Bhuluya to pay him regular revenue and also conquered Bakla Chandradwip which was then growing into a flourishing place. Immediately after these events Islam Khan, Nawab Dacca shifted his capital to Dacca and attacked the kingdom of Tripura but his army sustained a heavy defeat at the hands of Isha Khan, the commander of Amar.

Encouraged by these victories Amar Manikya led an expedition to Arakan and occupied a few places. In retaliation the ruler of Arakan sought the help of the Portuguese and with their aid not only santched off Chittagong but attacked Udaypur, ransacked the capital and carried a large booty. Amar Manikya saved his life by a timely flight but he was too proud a king to endure such an ignominy and put an end to his life by poisoning.

- Bhattacharyya, A. C., Op. cit., PP. 23-24.

39. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. II, P. 179.

40. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Op. cit., Part-II, Chapter-6, P. 69 (New Edition, Vol. I. P. 94).

Garuda was the king of Birds. In this formation, there is a prolonged centre with beaks, two slightly curved wings and a massive central body having troops well formed on sides, also a protected tail, i. e. the rear. Though this formation should be employed when attacks from both front and rear were apprehended, yet it could also launch strong attack by the curved wings and the well developed beaked head.

41. Bhatia, H. S., (ed.), Political Legal and Military History of India, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1984, P. 376.

42. Long, Rev-James, Analysis of the Rajamala, P. 15.

43. Sensarma, Major P., Kurukshetra War - a military study, Calcutta, 1975, PP. 104-05.

44. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Op. cit., Vol. III, 1341 T. E. (1931 A. D.), P. 180.

45. Ibid., P. 182; Bhattacharyya, A. C. Op. cit., P. 24.

46. Singha, Kailash Chandra, Op. cit., PP. 73-74 (see New Edition Vol. I, PP. 96-97); Mackenzie, Alexander, The North-East Frontier of India, Delhi, 1979, P. 270.

47. Gait, Sir Edward, A History of Assam, Calcutta, 1967, P. 329.

CHAPTER - IV

ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF WAR AND ARMED FORCES

Historically speaking, in normal tims, military expenditures of a country generally formed an insignificant part of the total expenditures both in absolute and in relative terms. It was in war time that huge and unpredictable expenditure had to be incurred by the State. In this connection, it may not be irrelevant to mention that after Shivaji, the Maratha army was reduced in peace time due to serious financial crisis.[1]

In contrast, however, countries of the modern age are found to spend a huge amount on defence even in normal times which at times goes beyond their economic capabilities due to the complex international relations prevailing among them. But in early times, the total revenue collections of a State determined its level of expenditure and in no case it could afford to spend going beyond the limits of State exchequer. However, it may be mentioned here that " the military system of an age reflects, and in turn influences the social and conomic structure of its time".[2]

So far as the pay and allowances component of the military expenditure is concerned, history reveals that the tradition of making regular payment to the troops had become well established by the Epic age.[3] According to Kautilya's Arthasastra, it was felt that the army becomes disaffected and mortified if it is not paid regularly.[4] Regarding the causes of decline of the Maratha power, it

may be said that economy was one of the most important factors behind it. The payment of the Maratha soldiers remained in arrears for months together and the efficiency of the army was thus affected. [5] Sher Shah disbursed the salaries of his soldiers, and officers personally in order to bring them in close contact with him.[6] In an interesting letter of Major Carnac in 1761 A.D [7],it is found how the troops of the Nawab of Bengal became mutinous in 1761 due to the Nawab's inability to pay off. Considering the low pay structure and other factors, the East India company prohibited through public advertisement in 1762 (proceedings, May 13) any European to hold any military and civil office under any Native Government.[8]

As late as 1921 the Inspector - General of Imperial Service Troops pointed out to the political Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, how the finances of Tripura did not permit of the maintenance of a large battalion by the rulers of Tripura.[9] Although no information regarding the economic activity of the State of Tripura could be collected prior to the last quarter of the 19th century, a look into the information for the subsequent years as available from published materials help us to guess the basis of the State economy as well ae to assess the changes brought therein.

The population of Tripura was composed of two entirely distinct economic groups-- the non- tribal people of the plains and the tribal people inhabiting the hills. In 1872 the following rough estimate of the population of Tripura was made by the Political Agent taking into consideration various sources of revenue from the plains and the hills (particularly ' Ghar-Chukti Kar'):-- inhabitants of the

plains, consisting of Bengalis (mainly Muhammadans) and Manipuries 14,500 ; Hill Tribes, 20.000 and thus the total population was roughly 34, 500.[10]

As Tripura is hilly and full of Jungle, no revenue survey on scientific lines was done in the 19th century. Still, according to the report of the Political Agent in 1891, the most important sources of the State revenue were (i) rent for lands in the plains of Tripura, (ii) ' Ghar-Chukti Kar' or family tax in the hills, (iii) duties on forest products, cotton and till and (iv) the sale of elephants as the hills of Tripura were once the favourite home of the wild elephant. Let us now have a look at Table No. 1 to understand the economic potential of Tripura for military activities in the past.

TABLE - 1.

STATE REVENUE OF TRIPURA - SOURCEWISE FOR SELECTED YEARS

(IN THOUSAND RUPEES)

YEAR	LAND REVENUE	RAVENUE EARNED FROM FOREST RESOURCES.	TAX ON JUMIA HOUSE-HOLDS	EXPORT DUTIES ON COTTON AND OIL SEEDS	OTHER SOURCES	TOTAL
1873-74	38'65 (23'66%)	45'35 (27'76%)	24'67 (15'10%)	45'69 (27'97%)	08'99 (05'50%)	163'35
1874-75	38'78 (20'75%)	64'40 (34'45%)	24'22 (12'96%)	47'18 (25'24%)	12'35 (06'61%)	186'93
1893-94	78'10 (16'72%)	193'88 (41'51%)	40'35 (08'64%)	79'18 (16'95%)	75'50 (16'17%)	467'01
1894-95	88'75 (17'71%)	180'69 (36'05%)	37'13 (07'41%)	114'36 (22'82%)	80'20 (16'00%)	501'13
1913-14	359'73 (34'72%)	310'06 (29'92%)	45'50 (04'39%)	94'88 (09'16%)	225'95 (21'89%)	1036'12
1914-15	342'19 (33'05%)	340'98 (32'93%)	40'47 (03'31%)	89'25 (08'62%)	222'57 (21'49%)	1035'46
1933-34	450'71 (33'64%)	350'57 (26'16%)	46'96 (03'50%)	106'84 (07'97%)	384'75 (28'72%)	1339'81
1934-35	644'45 (40'80%)	332'38 (21'04%)	52'59 (03'33%)	135'22 (08'56%)	414'97 (26'27%)	1579'61

*This head includes Tolls on forest produce exported and Royalties on elephants caught.

Cf. Misra, Bani Prasanna, Socio Economic Adjustments of Tribals, New Delhi, 1976, PP. 60-61. Misra got the data from Hill Tippera State Gazetteer, Statistics, 1901-02; The Administration Report of Tripura State; and Hunter, W. W., Op. cit., Vol. VI.

From the table it would be observed that as years passed, land revenue, in comparision to other sources, increased from 20.75% percent of the total income in 1874-75 to 40.80% percent in 1934-35, which is perhaps a sign of stability and modernization of the economy. Catching of elephants was a big business in earlier time but subsequently the animal became scarce[11] and the contribution from elephant catching became negligible. The increase in land revenue signifies the extension of area under wet rice cultivation. As Tripura was gradually coming out from primitive form of economy with the monetisation of productive activites, as Tripura was gradually becoming richer in economic terms, the greater became the necessity to defend the land and to spend more for defence or military purpose.

The share of the total economic capacity of a nation which can be used for the purposes of war is called 'economic potential of war'. [12] However, no information on defence expenditure borne by the State is available prior to the beginning of the 20th century, although, the State experienced a number of battles during the early period This automatically confirms a question regarding the role of economy behind all the military activites of the State. In this connection , although no detail reference is available, the author , still believes that the economy might have influenced the results of the battles.

It is surprising to note that a State, the royal heraldry of which proclained ' courage is the sole virtue', does not

have any documentary evidence to prove any regular military exercise. The royal visits described in the Rajamala never came anywhere near anything like a guard of honour.

This leads to the conclusion that the State did not maintain any standing army[13] and at the time when the State was attacked , all the male persons of the State were conscripted to fight, although Rajamala claims that a few kings of Tripura organised a force of cavalry and artillery with the help of mercenary soldiers. The employment of mercenary soldiers was however, a common matter in those days particularly in the presence of a considerable number of European prospectus.

In addition, it may also be mentioned that the persons who were conscripted to join the war,had to bring their own local weapons also. Those were bow and arrow, takhyal(local Bengali name) , Jathee (Bengali name), Kuthar (axe), Khadga (sword) etc. Reference of arsenal, maintained by the kings was not found in the State.

In view of the above, it may be said that the kings of Tripura were hardly interested for any planned development of the military establishment in the State. Even if a king had the intention, the royal treasure was probably not adequate to undertake such enterprise. Nowhere there is evidence that the revenue of the State was so much as to undertake recurring military expenses beyond maintanence of routine affairs.

However, from the reports on the Administration of Tipperah State for the years 1901 to 1946 A.D, we get total reveue and expenditure figures as well as the defence expenditure figures for these years excepting some for which records could not be traced.

TABLE-II
STATEMENT OF TOTAL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FIGURES AS WELL AS DEFENCE EXPENDITURE FIGURES OF TRIPURA

YEAR	TOTAL RECEIPTS (Rs)	TOTAL EXPENDITURE (Rs)	DEFENCE EXPENDITURE (Rs)	PERCENTAGE
1901-02	19,51,549	16,12,198	24,875	1'54
1902-03	--	--	29,042	--
1903-04	19,32,467	15,52,085	28,858	1'85
1904-05	21,12,267	17,45,738	40,398	2'31
1905-06	22,54,701	18,31,199	--	--
1906-07	21,06,536	17,37,790	29,961	1'72
1907-08	21,84,328	18,38,794	28,185	1'53
1908-09	24,67,045	18,69,700	28,044	1'50
1909-10	25,54,385	21,82,672	32,794	1'50
1910-11	26,31,756	21,61,466	33,160	1'53
1911-12	25,28,575	21,02,070	29,605	1'41
1912-13	25, 69,602	20,49,409	32,494	1'58
1913-14	26,58,214	20,56, 363	29,208	1'42
1914-15	25,95,934	20,76,459	30,228	1'45
1915-16	24,51,891	18,43,327	30,152	1'63
1916-17	26,36,337	19,57, 077	33,050	1'69
1917-18	28,22,405	20,13,273	31,596	1'57
1918-19	31,29,429	22,72,996	34,849	1'53
1919-20	36,60,647	24,36,263	31,326	1'29
1920-21	38,49,123	28,39,599	33,572	1'18

YEAR	TOTAL RECEIPTS (Rs)	TOTAL EXPENDITURE (Rs)	DEFENCE EXPENDITURE (Rs)	PERCENTAGE
1921-22	37,13,190	25,12,742	38,463	1'53
1922-23	38,70,176	24,79,125	37,742	1'52
1923-24	43,66,613	30,60,345	42,625	1'39
1924-25	42,72,207	33,31.024	41,465	1'24
1925-26	40,63,200	30,74,930	42,508	1'38
1926-27	43,89,857	29,70,221	43,528	1'46
1927-28	45,80,156	35,56,491	77,911	2'19
1928-29	43,29,437	33,68,764	89,661	2'66
1929-30	43,98,374	34,23,952	1,29,297	3'77
1930-31	37,43,914	27,71,248	1,13,897	4'10
1931-32	35,65,848	25,00,698	1,05,730	4'23
1932-33	35,65,848	25,00,698	98,016	3'92
1933-34	44,42,474	30,40,040	1,06,626	3'50
1934-35	43,24,006	28,47,545	1,01,039	3'55
1935-36	45,31,896	27,37,576	1,08,263	3'95
1936-37	-	-	1,18,728	-
1937-40	1,33,87,459	1,16,32,308	4,55,129	3'91
1940-43	1,28,44,851	1,05,11,989	4,20,569	4'00
1943-46	1,95,11,049	1,72,30,176	4,05,225	2'35

The present author has prepared the above table on the basis of data available from different Administration Reports of Tripura State. from 1901-02 to 1943-46.

It is seen from the table that defence expenditures accounted for roughly 1'5% percent on an average of the total expenditure of the State upto 1925-26 and that increasing revenue collection over the same years had no impact on it. In absolute terms however, like the revenue collection both total expenditures and expenditures on defence showed an increasing trend.

A sudden jump in defence expenditure is found in the year 1927-28 when it rose form Rs. 43, 528 in 1926-27 to Rs. 77, 911 in 1927-28, the highest amount ever spent on defence and it accounted for about 2'20% percent of total expenditure of the State as against 1'46% percent in the previous year. The increasing trend continued upto 1931-32 when defence expenditures stood at Rs. 1,05, 730 (4'23% percent of total expenditures). This was due to the measures taken fo recognisation of forces.[14]

The successive years witessed a slight decline in the percentage of expenditures of defence. This perhaps was due to the abolition of ' garrision' at Dharmanagar, Sonamura, Kailashar, and Sabroom'.[15] In absolute terms, however, defence expenditures is found to have remained almost stable. Though total expenditures rose significantly for the three years 1943-46 to Rs. 1, 72, 30, 176 as against Rs. 1, 05, 11. 989 for the previous three years taken together, the percentage of expenditure on defence fell from 4% percent in 1940-43 to 2'35% percent in 1943-46.

Regarding pay and allowances of Tripura soldiers, it may be said that such system was perhaps not considered as an important component of military expenditures till the second half of the nineteenth century.No attempt was made to form a trained military force with a view to

protecting the hilly terrain from enemy's attack, but while the State was involved in war, all the male persons of the State were conscripted to fight against the enemy.[16]

However from the documents available, it can be said that in 1872 A.D. the pay of a Sepoy was only Rs. 4 a month. But the mercenary soldiers who could be of use if called into action were paid Rs. 6 a month with an extra allowance when on active service. [17]

According to Hunter [18] Tripura army was organised in 1874-75A.D. There were six companies with a total of 43 officers, 4 buglers and 230 sepoys. The pay-structure of different ranks as it existed during that period, is given in the Table-- III

TABLE -- III

PAY STRUCTURE WITH DIFFERENT RANKS AS IN 1874-75

RANK (AND	MONTHLY RATE (Rs.)	AMOUNT (Rs. MONTHLY)
Major (1)	50'00	50'00
Captain (2)	15'00	30'00
Kamedan (1)	20'00	20'00
Subadar (4)	20'00	80'00
	Varying from	
Jamadar (9)	08'00 to 18'00	72 to 162
Havildar (13)	08'00 to 10'00	104 to 130
Amaldar (13)	06'00 to 07'00	78 to 91
Buglar (4)	05'00 to 08'00	20 to 32
Sepoys (230)	04'00 to 06'00	920 to 1380

Source : Hunter. W.W, Op. cit., P. 516.

During 1891-92 A.D. the Tripura army was reorganised introducing some new ranks. The following table presents details regarding poy structure of different ranks and annual expenditure involved in payment of salaries to the personnel.

TABLE --IV

REVISED PAY- STRUCTURE OF DIFFERENT RANKS AS IN 1891-92

RANK	MONTHLY RATE (Rs)	AMOUNT (Rs)	EARLY EXPENDITURE (Rs)
Colonel	40'00	40'00	480'00
Adjutent	30'00	30'00	360'00
Subader(3)	20'00	60'00	720'00
Jamadar(4)	12'00	48'00	576'00
Havildar (4)	10'00	40'00	480'00
Amladar (8)	08'00	64'00	768'00
Sepoy (50,Senior)	07'00	350'00	8,200'00
Sepoy (150)	06'00	900'00	10,800,00
Beugal Major	15'00	15'00	180'00
Buglers (3)	07'00	21'00	252'00
Allowance	--	--	1,000'00
Miscellaneous (including the expenditure of office maintenance)	--	--	2,934'00

Source:-- Dutta, Dwijendra Chandra, and Bandyopadhyay, Suprasanna, Raigi Tripurar Sakari Bangla, (in Bengali) Education Department, Govt. of Tripura, 1976, PP. 465-66.

The fact that recruitment of regular Sepoys and regular payment of wages to them came into vogue in Tripura in the second half of the nineteenth century and

within two decades ncessity was felt to reorganise the same with the introduction of new ranks and increase in strength. This confirms the accepted view that an increase in land revenue and total income of the State reflect themselves in the increase of not only the total expenditure of the State but also in the increase in defence expenditure ; for the richer grows a State, the greater becomes its necessity to fortify and defend its territory.

The sudden fall in the defence expenditure of Tripura during the period, 1943-46, (see-Table II) does not, however, indicate that the total income of the State registered any steep fall during the time. The fall in defence expenditure despite rise in income during the corresponding period may be explained by the fact that the Second World War was gradually heading towards its close during this period. The outbreak of the War in 1939 corresponded with rise in military of the Tripura King in 1940, for the king was under obligation to help his British allies during their emergency. The rise in military expenditure from 2'35 % percent to 4% percent during three consecutive years, 1940-43 , must have told heavily on the State exchequer of the Tripura Kings and this pressure on the state budget might have forced the Tripura King to cut- down the expenditure on the defence of his own territory during the subsequent years, 1943-46.

1. Sarkar; Jagadish Narayan, A study of Eighteenth Century India, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1976, P. 287.
2. The new Encyclopedia Britannica, 'War and Defence Economics'. Vol. 19, U.S.A. 1977, P. 548.
3. Bhakari, Major S. K., Indian Warfare, New Delhi, 1981, P. 50.

4. Kautilya's Arthasastra, BK. VIII, Ch. V., English Translation Dr. R. Shamasastry, 8th Edition, Mysore, 1967.

5. Kar, Lt. Col. H. C. Military History of India, Calcutta, 1980, P. 555.

6. Jaffer, S. M., The Mughol Empire, Delhi, 1974, P. 61.

7. Cornac's letter to the Select Committee of the East India Company - See Select Committee's Proceedings, Januray 19, 1761. Cf. Saha, Mahadevprasad, (ed.), Selection from unpublished Records of Government (1748 to 1767). Calcutta, 1973, P. 354.

8. Ibid., P. 373.

9. See Appendix 'C', Para - 5.

10. Hunter, W. W., A statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. VI, Delhi, 1973, P. 516.

11. Allen, B. C., etal. Gazetteer of Bengal and North-East India, Delhi, 1979, P. 610.

12. Bhatia, H. S. (ed.). Military Dictionary and Encyclopedia, new Delhi, 1982, P. 52.

13. In this connection it may not be irrelevent to mention that Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, known to history as the lion of the North, was the first to organise a standing army in place of the mercenary bands of feudal Europe.

- Cf. Palit, Maj. Gen. D. K. The Essentials of Military Knowledge, Dehra Dun (India), 1970, P. 53.

It is interesting to note that after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, even this English East India Company in Bengal was not in favour of spending money for military purpose. It is better to quote Court's letter of 1759 (March 23, Para 55) :

"We cannot avoid remarking that you seem so thoroughly possessed with military idea as to forget your employers are

merchants, and trade their principal object, and were we to adopt your several plans for fortifying, half our capital would be buried in stone-walls."

At that time the Court decided that "exclusive of the artillery, the force in Bengal should consist of 300 Europeans, and no more".

- Saha Mahadevaprasad (ed.), Selections from unpublished records of Government (1748 to 1767), Calcutta, 1973, P. 266.

14. Report on the General Administration of the Tripura State for the year 1338 T. E. (1928-29 A. D.), Agartala, P. 10.

15. Ibid., 1342 T E. (1932-33 A. D.), P. 10.

16. Sen, Kaliprasanna, Sri Rajamala, Vol. II, (in Bengali). Agartala, 1337 T. E. (1927 A. D.), P. 116.

17. Hunter, W. W., Op. cit., PP. 515-16.

It may not be irrelevent to point out that in 1832 Col. John Munro noted that "the Madras Government was induced with the sanction of the Court of Directors, to increase the pay of the Native troops at Madras from five rupees to seven rupees a month; and as a result it made a difference between the pay of Madras and Bengal Sepoys. The Madras rates of pay were afterwards adopted at Bombay also."

- Bhatia, H. S. (ed.), Military History of British India (1607-1947), New Delhi, 1977, P. 34.

18. Hunter, W. W., Op. cit., P. 516.

CHAPTER - V

TRIPURA BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

A. BIRENDRA KISHORE MANIKYA AND TRIPURA :

Birendra Kishore Manikya (1909-23 A.D.) ruled Tripura during the time of the World War I. Birendra Kishore was " installed on the throne by his Honour Sir Lancelot Hare, the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam on behalf of his Excellency, the Viceroy and Governor - General of India on the 25th November, 1909".[1] Lord Carnichael and Lord Ronaldshay, the two Governors of Bengal, visited Agartala in 1913 and 1918 respectively and the bridge on the Houra river and the newly constructed Agartala- Bishalgarh Bazar Road were named respectively in their honour.[2] J.Bartley joined as the Political Agent in 1915. How the Europeans influenced Birendra Kishore would be evident from the appointment of T.R Williams as the Joint Secretary (Memo No. 13,1322 T.E.) and Fritzcap as the Palace Superintendent (Memo No. 7., 1330 T.E.)[3]. In 1920, the British Government approved of the name 'Tripura' in place of Hill Tippearah'.[4]

It is recorded in the Bengal Administration Report 1914-15 how in 1914, on the outbreak of the World War I, Birendra Kishore " placed his personal services and the resources of his State at the disposal of the Imperial Government and he gave a suitable donation to the Provinitial War Relief Fund, a branch of which war

sucessfully started in the State."

The Report on the Administration of the Tippera State for 1325 T.E. (1915 - 16) records :

" The Empire has passed through the tribulations of the great war for another twelve months. In the midst of immense sacrifice of valuable lives and property, it has maintained its glory, which India is proud to share with England and the Colonies, patiently awaiting the triumphant issue.

" In addition to its small contributions to the Imperial War Relief Fund recorded in the last year's report, His Highness placed Rs.3,600 in the hands of the British Ambulance Committee, through His Grace the Duke of Portland , for the maintenance of one car in France for a year". (page -1).

A.C. Bhattacharyya has shown how in 1918, when Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, paid a visit to Agartala, Birendra Kishhore Manikya " made a further big donations of a Lakh of Rupees to the War Fund, and for the encouragement of recruitment of Soldiers amongst his State Subjects, offered donations of Rs. 25/ - or a free gift of 6 Bighas of land to each recruit. These offers were very much appriciated by the Governor of Bengal".[5]

Kumar Dinamohan Deb Barman was in charge of the military force of Tripura during the period of the World War I.

TABLE - I

MILITARY STRENGTH OF TRIPURA AT THE TIME OF THE WORLD WAR I

ARM OF SERVICE	NUMBER OF FIGHTING OFFICERS AND MEN						DETAILS OF FORCE AT THE END OF 1915						
	Total Number At the end of 1914 A. D.	Recruited in 1915 A. D.	Died	Invalided	Discharged, deserted, etc.	Total Number At the end of 1915 A. D.	Number of regiments, battalions or Batteries	Number of guns	European Commissioned officers	Native Commissioned officers	Non Commissioned officers	Fighting men	Total Cost on account of pay and allowances of the force, including followers.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Infantry	227	14	1	-	16	224	1	-	-	-	35	189	Rs. 30,152

Source : Report on the Administration of the Tippera State for 1325 T. E. (1915-16 A. D.), P. 1.

From Table No. I, i.e. the statement showing the strength, cost and other particulars of the military force of Tripura for 1915-16, it becomes evident that there were 227 officers and men during 1914-15, i.e. at the time when the World War I broke out only 1 died and 16 men left or were discharged. There were 14 new recruits in 1915-16 and the total strength was only 224. The men were generally employed in sentry and escort duty and their maintenance cost was only Rs. 30,152.During the First World War period (1914-18) there was a marked increased activity in military drilling and in some cases the police had to take part in mock- fight with the military in Tripura. It is interesting to note that there was not a single gun, nor even any commissioned officer in Tripura at that time.

A(i) Scheme for the reorganisation of State Forces:

The scheme for the reorganisation of State forces was introduced in 1922, as result of a conference presided over by Major-General H. D. Watson. [6] The Durbar proposed to increase the strength of the military forces of Tripura from 276 (i. e. 212 men and 64 officers) to a half battalion. [7] The Durbar also agreed that the State forces would be so organised and improved that they might deal with internal security themselves, and the letter from the Minister of Tripura to the Political Agent added that "the Durbar would, however, make it clear that when the State forces find themselves unable to cope with a serious internal trouble, the Imperial Government should render effective assistance" [8] Again, "An officer might be lent if the Durbar

wanted it or the system of Military Advisers continued. There might be one Military Adviser with Head Quarters at a Central place-say Sylhet, for this State and Coochbehar".[9] How Birendra Kishore Manikya helped the British Government during the World War I would become clear from the following remarks of Major General H. D. Watson :

"His Highness is most anxious to do all in his power to assist the Imperial Government not only with troops but with all the resources of his State, in time of grave emergency".[10] In the same letter it was told :

"At present His Highness maintains a force of Infantry amounting to 276 all told. He is now anxious to maintain a small battalion of Infantry consisting of 1 Head Quarter Company and two Companies on Indian Army Establishment and organisation - the Military Budget of the State not permitting of the maintenance of greater number. This small battalion will be primarily maintained for Internal Security of the Tripura State, but on grave emergency if other arrangement can be made for Internal Security duties, this unit may possibly be offered to Government for service outside the State".[11]

Regarding the performances of Tripura troops H. D. Watson remarked :

"His Highness afforded us every opportunity of inspecting his troops and his police. The personnel of the former is good, the men are well turned out, handle their arms well, and march very well".[12] Major-General Watson also recommended the issue of modern rifles to the military

personnel of Tripura, preferably the Long H. V. 303 Rifle. [13]

In his letter to the Political Agent in 1923, the Minister of Tripura pointed out :

"The Durbar agreed as to the advantage of having the same or similar disciplinary rules as governing the Indian Army for the State troops. They also agreed that the rank and titles should be based on the strength of the units in accordance with the standard of the Indian Army and suggested that the honours and privileges accorded to the officers of the Indian Army should be extended to the officers of the State Force-either in time of war or in time of peace, and they should wear the same badge and uniform for a particular rank with the name of the State impressed somewhere on them". [14]

The Government of India, in according their approval of the Durbar's scheme of reorganisation of the armed forces of Tripura in 1923 said as follows :

"The Durbar propose to increase the present State Forces of 276 Infantry and to maintain a half battalion consisting of a Headquarter Company and two compaines on Indian Army establishments. The force is intended for the internal security of the State for which the Durbar are prepared to undertake responsibility. The Government of India prefer that the Durbars should maintain their troops so as to ensure internal security rather than that they should endeavour to provide a fractional unit for loan to Government which would be difficult to utilise and which would reduce the number of troops for internal

security at the time when they would be of most value. The maintenance of units ear-marked for internal security would enable the military authorities to withdraw regular troops for active service should the necessity arise. At the same time should a Durbar be unable to cope with serious internal disorder arising out of a general disturbance in India, Government would be prepared to render assistance to the State".[15]

A. C. Bhattacharya eulogized the military reforms of Birendra Kishore Manikya in this way:

"A trained soldier His Highness after assumption of control directed his attention towards re-organising the State army. He took prompt steps to attract young men of merit and ability to the State Military Service. He spent Lt. Prince B. L. Deb Barman, Lt. Rana Jhapat Jung Bahadur and Lt. Prince Balindra Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur to 1/8th Gurkha Rifles at Shillong. They were followed by another batch of officers and men and on their return the Maharaja appointed them to positions of responsibility. These steps gave a great impetus to State military activities. A graded Service was introduced with brigth future prospects and the military barracks were removed to a hillock near the Kunjaban garden palace where an up-to-date cantonment was built". ".....As a result of the personal care and keen interest taken by His Highness the Military Department of the State has made great progress within a very short time not only as regards smartness and efficiency of the units but also in physique and moral tone of every individual soldier". [16]

B. TRIPURA UNDER THE LAST MANIKYA :

Birendra Kishore Manikya passed away on August 13, 1923, at the comparatively young age of 40 only and Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya (1923-47) succeeded his father as a minor. The Administration was left with a Council, while the young ruler continued his studies. Bir Bikram Kishore was invested with full powers at the age of 19 on 19th August 1927, and Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal participated in the investiture ceremony as Representative of the Crown. Before the commencement of the World War II (1939-45), Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya undertook a tour in Europe [17] and met many top leaders of the world. On 3rd June 1935, Maharaja Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India (K. C. S. I.) and was in January 1945 promoted to the rank of Hony. Lieutenant Colonel of "His Majesty's Regular Army" and on 1st January 1946 he was appointed to the Order of Grand Cross of the British Empire (G. B. E.).

B(i) The Question of Reorganisation of the Armed Forces :

Regarding the reorganisation of the armed forces of Tripura, Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya had decided in 1928 to proceed for the time being with the reorganisation of one company and it was added that later on as the finances of the State would permit the remainder of the State forces might be gradually brought under the operation of the reorganisation scheme. [18] The Imperial Government ultimately approved of the proposal of the Tripura Durbar. [19] It is clear from the letter of the

government of India that the reorganised State forces were mainly intended for internal security of the State and were considered as "earmarked" for internal security. The letter of the Government of India nowhere mentioned that these earmarked troops were to be placed at the disposal of the Government of India for employment outside the State.

But in the letter of the Political Agent in 1936 to the Minister, Tripura State, [20] however one of the conditions for supplying the 'A' class troops [21] at Government expenses with extra arms and connected equipment, Viz, condition was "(iii) that Government are authorised by the State to assume that Rulers concerened will, in times of emergency, place these units at the disposal of Government" - presumably for employment outside the State.

The army is the insignia of the power and authority of a sovereign State and when an army of a State is placed at the disposal of another Government or when an army form outside enters the territories of a sovereign or a quasi-sovereign State, complications are inevitable. In 1932 the then Governor of Bengal was pleased to ask for the consent of Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya to send a contingent of Government troops to the Belonia and Sabroom Divisions of Tripura to search for some absconding accused in the Chittagong Armoury raid case.

The Lushai expedition in the seventies of the nineteenth century presents an instance of a serious case that brought into Tripura its own lesson. The operation of the expedition were carried on in what was the then Tripura territory.[22] The Bengal Government as a first step fixed an "inner

boundary line" as a matter of division of the sphere of defence as between the Imperial Government and Tripura Durbar without any reference to the Ruler who was cooperating with the Government and whose misgivings where removed at the earliest opportunity by the Political Agent with the express assurance that no annexation of State territory was contemplated.

Tripura had nevertheless lost the vast area of over 3000 square miles, cut off by that "inner line", the argument against the claim of the State for restitution of that tract stood, among other things, on the alleged consent of the Ruler of Tripura to part with that permanently [23] - a circumstance that made it all the more incumbant on the State to urge on clear and express consent of the Maharaja of Tripura previous to any military operations in the State territory.

B(ii) Government of India Act, 1935 and Tripura:

The Government of India Act 1935, had two principal parts, the first dealing with Provincial Autonomy and the second with the 'Federation of India' would consist of the Governor's provinces and the Princely States joining it through 'Instruments of Accession'. But the rulers of the Princely States including Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya, were reluctant to join the Federal Scheme as they were anxious to 'preserve and safeguard' their 'sovereignty and internal authority' and as they apprehended that certain provisions of the Act left room for encroachment by the Governor-General and the Federal Government.

Section 12(A) of Chapter II of the Government of India

Act, 1935, makes "the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of India or any part thereof" a matter of special responsibility of the Governor-General and Section 286 of Chapter V Provides for the mandatory power of the Representative of the Crown to demand use of forces in connections with the discharge of his functions in its relation with the Indian States.

It is interesting to read a portion of the letter from Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya addressed to the Viceroy of India on the subject of accession of Tripura State to the Federation of India:

"...(g) As regards entry 29 about arms and ammunition, the circumstances in my State are somewhat peculiar, as possessions of firearms is often a necessity for protection of crops and lives from wild animals. Easy conditions of possession are therefore called for and I trust Your Excellency will agree that in this matter the State is the proper judge. It cannot at the same time be said that the State Arms Act proved inadequate as regards control even in trying circumstances. It was for this reason that I urged the maintenance of the status quo in my first letter. The extent of limitation now suggested is althogether insufficient and must occur great difficulty if not reconsidered.

"8. I fervently hope that your Excellency will appreciate the reasons that have stood in the way of my accepting unconditionally the terms now offered. It is needless for me to repeat that my attitude is due solely to my anxiety to safeguard the interests of my State and the welfare of my people and I trust that ways and means may yet be

found to remove, by suitable modification of the scheme, the doubts, as indicated above, that I still entertain in signifying my readiness to accede to the proposed Federation". [24]

However, since the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, with its central idea of an All India Federation, most of the States had introduced reforms more or less on principles of democracy. In Tripura also an attempt was made to associate people with the Government. In his Bengali New Year's Proclamation of 1349 T. E. (i. e. 15th April, 1939) Maharaja Bir Bikram declared :

"It is my earnest prayer to God Almighty that the governing and the governed in this ancient State may now by His Grace join hands in a new spirit of cooperation and enhanced amity, and restore to it by combined efforts all its pristine glory - no longer indeed the glory of a conquering Military State as in the olden times, but the abiding glory and prestige of an organised State, where traditional Indian culture harmonises with modern thought in shaping the guiding principle, and rendering it invulnerable in the prosperity, happiness and contentment of the people". [25]

Thus, on the Bengali New Year's Proclamation of April 1939 Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya promised to give a constitution to his people to prove his benevolent intention and also pointed out the military prestige of Tripura in the past with the following : "no longer indeed the glory of a conquering Military State as in the olden times". But the outbreak of the World War II stopped the process of administrative reforms.[26]

B(iii) Tripura During The Second World War :

When the second World War began in 1939, Tripura, then a tiny princely State in the north-east of India, proved itself fully loyal to the foreign rulers of the subcontinent. Though a 'sovereign' native State in name, it could ill-afford to displease the British Empire. Hence, it was that though he had no interest at stake in the war between the Allied Powers and the Axis Powers, the Maharaja of Tripura was rather compelled to place the service of his men in all eagerness at the disposal of the British rulers of India. His eagerness to help the allied Powers was so great that he was prepared to starve his people to supply the allied armies with food and other provisions. This naturally sparked agitation among the people of the native State of Tripura. It may be mentioned here that Tripura was not the only Princely State to pledge itself to the support of allied Powers specially the British Empire and the agitation of the people was common scene in almost all the native States of India. The generous offer of men and material, more specially food grains, created a crisis in Tripura also in its socio-economic spheres.

A resolution of the then State Council catagorically mentioned : "As his Majesty's Government is at war with Germany it is herby ordered that any potential hostile foreigners be arrested at once and kept in custody pending orders of the Political Department". [27] Besides this, an order of the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur was issued on the 20th June, 1942 in connection with the measures to be taken in the event of hostilities within India. [28] Moreover it was noted, "The entire resources of the State and personal service of the Ruler have been placed at the

disposal of the Crown". [29] The 1st Tripura Rifles are likely to move into British India for training "on about the 1st December 1941'.[30] In this connection a Notification was issued in Tripura State Gazette on the 12th December, 1941 where "the Tripura Durbar agree that the 1st Tripura Bir Bikram Manikya Rifles from the date they leave the State for service with his Majesty's Forces will be under the Army Act and the Indian Army Act with some provisions". [31]

The Maharaja again at the behest of the Britishers, raised an additional force by conscription in the tribal youths. "An internal security scheme was also drawn up. Defence of India ordinance and similar legal measures were adopted so far as the conditions in the State necessitated." [32] Besides this, a Military Police Force had been set-up in the State by the army for a special important War purpose. [33]

It needs be mentioned here that the conscription on the tribal youths and collection of food grains for war purposes just at the time when Tripura was seized by famine set the stage ready to trigger off the Reang unrest (1942-43) in Tripura, but even at the risk of it the Maharaja of Tripura gave an evidence of his great devotion to the Britishers.

On the night of 3rd August, 1940, a printed Bengali leaflets entitled 'Asanna Biplab' (impending revolution) appeared in Agartala. [34] besides 'Asanna Biplab', the distribution of other printed Bengali leaflets, e. g. 'Lal Nisan', 'Ingrazer Yuddhey Na Ek Bhai, Na Ek Pai (which appealed to the people not to participate in the World War II) created comotion in Tripura in 1940. In Bengal and

Punjab also that type of slogan had already been raised by the left and democratic groups in 1939. In Tripura the slogan 'not a pai, not a man', had a deep impact particularly on the tribals of the hill. [35]

The economic impact of this great war was very serious in Tripura. The amount of donation made by the State to the various War Funds totalled Rs. 57,000/- and by the employees Rs. 14,000/-. Defence Bonds purchased by the State amount to Rs. 1,75,000/- and by the public through the State Rs. 44,000/-. The State had promised an annual donation of Rs. 50,000/- to the War purposes Fund and the employees Rs. 7,000/-. The total amount of expenditure incurred on Armed Forces is above Rs. 5,00,000/-.[36] In this connection, it may not be irrelevent to mention that in a letter of S. C. Datta, Finance Minister, Tripura State, to the Engineer-in-charge, General Head Quarters, Patna, on the 3rd January 1944, it is found an audited statement of large expenditure for defence purposes.[37]

An acute discontent among the people was marked as the prices of essential goods had suddenly gone up very high, although an order subsequently was issued for controllong prices and preventing hoarding. To overcome the difficulties caused by the great war, all people in the State were also asked to increase the production of food-crops by intensive cultivation. [38] These orders to check price-rise and prevent hoarding and to increase production were simple attempts to divert attention of the people from the King's generous offer to help beyond the State's means to the British Empire which had already earned wide-speread discontent among the people.

Thus during the World War II, the economic scene in Tripura was undergoing an acute crisis and was proving very exacting to the people in general. Morever, for the creation of War Fund by the king, some special taxes were imposed on the people. [39] The agony and suffering of both the tribals and non tribals knew no bounds.

Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya's personal activities in the connection with the World War II - namely, the defensive arrangements in the State and the Eastern Forntier he personally initiated and supervised, the vigorous way in which he carried on recruitment, military training, and furthered the actual participations in the war, of the State and of the State Forces which even included many a member of his own family, and the help he generally rendered to the allied cause by different ways and also by forcibly raising funds and materials disregarding the untold miseries of the common people of Tripura - had called forth admiration of the Imperial Government and the last Manikya ruler of Tripura was presented 'a saluting gun' by the Commander-in-Chief [40] of British India.

1. Sandys, E. F., History of Triura, Calcutta, 1915, P. 156.

2. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Progressive Tripura, Calcutta, 1930, PP. 57, 61.

3. Dutta, Dwijendra Chandra, Bandyopadhyay, Suprasanna, (ed.), Rajgi Tripurar Sarkari Bangla, (in Bengali), Education Directorate, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1976, PP. 42, 48.

4. Bandyopadhyay, Suprasanna, (ed.), Tripura State Gazette Sankalan (in Bangali), Agartala, 1971, P. 102.

5. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Op. cit., P. 62.

6. Letter No. 911/1-2, dated 24th July, 1922, from the Minister, Tripura State, to the Political Agent, Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, See Appendix 'F' Para-2.

7. Ibid., Para - 4.

   The "Half battalion" was explained by the Tripura Durbar in this way: "I have the honour to State that "Half battalion" will cansist of one headquarter company and two companies of the Indian Army Unit, with 481 men and 9 commissioned officers and 9 non-commissioned officers".

   - Letter No. 2181/1-2, dated 10.1.1923 from Rai P. K. Das Gupta Bahadur, Minister, Tripura State, to the Political Agent, Tripura, See Appendix 'E'.

8. See Appendix "F", Para 8(ii).

9. Ibid. Para 8 (viii); also D. O. No. 112, dated 19th September, 1921 from P. K. Das Gupta, Minister to Major-General Sir H. D. Watson, see Appendix 'D'.

10. See the enclosure of the letter (para 3) of Hanry D. Watson to Rai P. K. Das Gupta Bahadur, Minister, No. 457/Camp, dated 12th September, 1921; National Archives, New Delhi, See Appendix 'C' enclosure.

11. Loc. cit.,

12. Ibid., Para 7.

13. Ibid., Para 6.

14. Letter from Rai P. K. Das Gupta Bahadur, Minister Tripura to the Political Agent, Tripura, No. 2181/1-2, dated Agartala, the 10th January, 1923; See Appendix 'E'.

15. Letter No. 812 P1/III-3, dated Comilla, the 22nd/25th May, 1923, from J. D. Vere Hodge, Esq; I. C. S., Political Agent, Tripura State, to the Minister, Tripura, Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala; See Appendix 'G'.

16. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Op. cit., PP. 89, 90.

17. Bhattacharyya, A. C., Op. cit., P. 100.

18. Letter from the Minister, Tripura State, to the Political Agent, No. 1017/1-17, dated 9.8.1928; Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala.

19. Letter from the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. f. 184-1-28 dated 5th February, 1929; copy of this letter was sent to the Tripura Durbar along with the Political Agent's No. 3488/III-II, dated 16th February, 1929; Secretariat Archives, Government of Tripura, Agartala.

20. Political Agent's letter No. 1256 P dated 19th/20th August, 1936; Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala; See Appendix 'H'.

21. The Classification of Units of the Indian States Forces as Class "A" or Class "B" Troops depended on whether they followed the Indian Army organisation and establishments; See Appendix 'I'.

22. For details of the Lushai expedition and different communications, reference may be made to two printed official booklets : Memorandum of the State, No. 1, 1928, and Tripura State Memorandum No. 2, 1932, Agartala, Tripura.

23. Chakravarti, Mahadev, 'Boundary Disputes between the Princely State of Tripura and the British Government : A case study' in the Journal of North-East India Council for Social Science Research, (Karunakar Gupta Commemoration Volume), 12:2, October, 1988, PP. 36-44.

24. Letter from Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya to the Marguess of of Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, Simla, dated Camp., Savoy Hotal, London, the 10th July, 1939; Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala.

25. Dutta, Dwijendra Chandra and Bandyopadhyay, Suprasanna, (ed.), Op. cit., PP. 147-49

26. For the modernization attempts of Bir Bikram Manikya, see Bhattacharyya, Banikantha, Tripura Administration : The Era of Modernisation, Delhi, 1986, PP. 160-208.

27. Resolution No. 1 of the 8th sitting of the State Council, dated the 18th Bhadra, 1349 T. E. (1939 A. D.); See Appendix 'J'.

28. B. No. 19/S. 20/F. II-103/1942. Govt. of Tripura, Political Department, Secret No. 1962, Dated Agartala, the 23rd August, 1942, Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala; See Appendix 'N'.

29. War Suppliment to the Tripura State Gazette, dated the 14th Janary, 1942; See Appendix 'M'.

30. Letter from the Secretary, East States, Calcutta, to the Chief Minister, Tripura State, Agartala, No. F. 1(2)C/41-1034, Dated Hastings Housse, Alipore, Calcutta, the 24th November, 1941, B. No. 6/S. 6/File No. XIV-15/1941-42, Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura , Agartala; See Appendix 'K'.

31. Tripura State Gazette, Extra Ordinary, Political Department, Dated Agartala, the 12th December, 1941, B. No. 6/S. 6/F. No. XIV-15/1941-42; Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala; See Appendix 'L'.

32. See Appendix 'K'.

33. B. No. 10/S. 2/File No. II-121/1354 T. E. (1944 A. D.), Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala; See Appendix 'Q'.

34. Chief Minister Bahadur's Memo No. 252-C, Dt. 9-8-1940, Letter of A. Choudhuri, SID/C. CID, Agartala, No. 377/ 11-4-1940, to the Chief Minister Bahadur, (TSAR).

35. Chakravarti Mahadev, "Communist Activities in Tripura : " 1939-42", in Proceedings of North East India History Association, Sixth Session, Agartala, 1985, P. 365.

36. See Appendix 'M'.

37. Letter from Rai Sahib S. C. Dutta, Finance Minister, Tripura State, Agartala, to The Engineer-in-charge, General Head Quarters, Patna, B. No. 19/S. 2/File No. II-250/1942. No. 5325/ 29-10, the 3rd January '1944, Secretariat Archives, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala; See Appendix 'P'.

38. See Appendix 'M'.

39. Tripura State Gazette Sankalan, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, 1971, P. 307.

40. Tripura State Consolidated Administration Report for 1353, 1354 and 1355 T. E. (1943-46 A. D.), Govt. of Tripura; See Appendix 'O'.

CHAPTER - VI

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters, an attempt has been made to study the military history of Tripura from 1490 to 1947 A. D. in all its aspects - the nature of and the reasons for aggression on this territory ; the degree of the State's preparednese to resist those aggressions ; strategies, tactics and weapons used by the State's army in resisting the aggressions ; military institutions and organisations raised and maintained in the State permanently or on an adhoc basis etc. In all these, we have found that records available are scanty and not properly maintained. Despite difficulties in tracing the military history of the State in the absence of substantial relevent records and materials and their maintenance in a proper order, it has yet been possible to arrive at certain significant conclusions with regard to the military history of Tripura for the period specifically chosen for the present dissertation.

The military prestige of the rulers of Tripura was at its height in the sixteenth century and rose to the zenith during the reign of Vijay Manikya, a contemporary of the Great Mughal Emperor Akbar. It is shown through map (see map No. III.) how the kingdom of Tripura made conquests and gained or regained possessions which extended its territorial boundary from time to time and how ultimately it was reduced to the present position. The task of consolidation of the growing kingdom involved the rulers of Tripura in active conflict with the neighbouring Kings of Kamrup, Cachar, Arakan, Rangamati and others.

It has been shown how the centuries of strife and struggle ensured with the Nawabs of neighbouring Bengal, and the reason for the latter's aggression was invariably the same i. e. exacting ransom in the shape of the rare wild life of the State specially elephants. Situated in a remote corner of the north-east of India and difficult - approach owing to its hilly terrains and dense forests, the Princely state was yet subjected to attacks by the enemies with occasional annexations of its territory perhaps because of its only attraction - the elephants, which the aggressors needed to strengthen their own armies. The tiny Princely State with its meagre resources and poor economy held no other attraction for the invadors. The fact that the invadors left the territory the moment their object was achieved goes to prove that the State held no attraction for the conquerors to inhabit and rule it.

The fact may be viewed from another angle as well. It may be claimed that the very geographical location of the State along with its typical natural environment saved Tripura from being completely routed and annexed. Had the State been located somewhere in the central part of India, it would have been easily absorbed within the control of neighbouring powers. Thus it is seen that the location and natural environment were both a boon and a bane to Tripura; inasmuch as those discouraged foreign aggression, but also prevented development of the State's economy. Had the rulers of this Princely State been gifted with the desired military acumen, they would have raised an elephantry unit to repel foreign aggression instead of surrendering the rich wild life of the State to the foreign aggressors by way of ransom paid by the defeated to the conqueror. Of course, it may be argued that the financial resources of the State were too meagre to afford raising

and maintenance of even a regular infantry, what to speak of an expensive elephantry unit. The materials, so far available, in no way lead us to draw a conclusion that economy of the then Tripura was based on solid foundation.

Attacks generally generate counter attacks and defence mechanism. But in Tripura no such development was ever witnessed to the extent required by the situation. The topography of Tripura was particularly favourable to the operation of guerrilla warfare, but this too did not develop much. At the time of attacks and invasions, the people were conscripted to fight against the enemy. There was no standing army in the State. When cannons were introduced almost as an apology for an artillery unit, foreign mercenaries had to be recruited with the result that they often proved disloyal and even traitors to their employers a phenomenon that had for reaching political impact like usurpation and change of royal lineage.

That the rulers of Tripura did not raise a regular army, owing to whether their lack of finance or the lack of farsight, was responsible for the absence of any development in the sophistication of weapons. The soldiers conscripted during an attack used their own traditional weapons like bows and arrows, khadgas etc. The State maintained no arsenal, nor did it make any arrangments for the procurement of sophisticated weapons and training of soldiers in their use. Musket and Cannon had of course been used but no records could be traced regarding the source from where those were procured and the date from which those came in use. Some references are there to suggest that Afgan and Portuguese mercenaries were engaged to operate those weapons which again goes to prove that the rulers were either not interested in or not capable of raising and maintaining a regular combat unit.

Some leather contraptions meant to produce a terrifying noise to scare away enemy units have also been referred to as cannons in the Chronicle of the State called Rajamala. Mercenaries might not have been required, one may guess, to operate those contraptions referred to as cannons. Their services were certainly requisitioned for operating regular cannons, from what ever sources those might have been procured.

Nevertheless, despite these constraints and lapses of theirs, the Tripura Kings were able to display certain ingenuity in their military exploits. Dhanya manikya, a ruler of Tripura in the last decade of the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth century, proved himself clever enough to be able to inundate the camps of his enemies during one of their attacks by cutting open earthen embankments which he had got errected by his men previously to hold the flow of water in check for sudden release on his enemies. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Vijay Manikya, the then ruler of Tripura, could manage to take his formidable invaders by surprise and route them completely by taking advantage of their negligence in leaving their tents unguarded during night. His night-attack on his enemies was as much unconventional, if not ingenious, as was Dhanya Manikya's flooding of the enemy encompments. Amar Manikya's battle formation in the style of 'Garuda Vyuha' of the ancient days to face and defeat his powerful adversaries in the third quarter of the sixteenth century on the difficult terrains of Sylhet was yet another instance of clever, if not ingenious, use of a military technique to suit the need of the hour and place.

Seen in this light, the military history of Tripura can

not be said to have lacked lustre completely, though neither in the preparation of war nor in the raising and maintanence of regular army, the State could claim any word of commendation.

The connection of the British with Tripura commenced through the zamindary of Roshnabad. Disputes about succession to the throne of Tripura cropped up again and again, but the British who turned out to be the leading power in the land, came gradually to be recognised as the paramount power in their relations with Tripura. The question of succession to the State with its appanages had been set at rest by the grant to the rulers of Tripura of a Sanad dated 21st June 1904 by Lord Ampthill as Representative of the Crown (see Appendix 'A'). True, the suzerainty and paramountcy of the British Crown had never been questioned or challenged by the Tripura Durbar, but it would be evident that such paramountcy did not arise out of conquest or subjugation. True, Tripura paid no tribute and the British Government had no treaty with it; the rulers of Tripura also enjoyed a permanent salute of 13 guns since 1867 and had been members of the Chamber of Princes on their own right etc., still, the war activities of the State, particularly during the two World Wars, showed again and again how the rulers of Tripura tried to oblige the British paramount power.

The two World Wars, like the demographic revolution just after the partition of India in 1947, totally altered the socio-economic and political profile of this tiny State of north-east India and attempts have been made in chapters IV and V to measure the economic potential of war in Tripura and the impact of these war ventures on the life of the people.

Appendix - 'A'

SUCCESSION SANAD granted by the
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

NO. CIV

Dated 21st June 1904

SANAD

TO
HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF HILL TIPPERA.

WHEREAS, with a view to containing the representation of the ruling house and dignity of the State of Hill Tippera, it is desirable to remove all doubts as to the rule of sucession to the chiefship of the said State and the ownership of the zamindaries and the property in British India whichappertain thereto and are held herewith, it is hereby declared :

1. That the Chiefship of the said State is and shall ever be hereditary in the Deb Barman family of Hill Tippera, of which His Highness Radhakishore Manikya, the present Chief of the said State, is now the lawful and acknowledged Head.

2. That the Chief of the said State, for the time being, may from time to time and at any time, nominate and constitute any male members of the said family descended through males from him or any male ancestor of his, to be his Juvaraj or successor to the said Chiefship.

3. That in the event of His Highness Radhakishore

Manikya or any succeeding Chief of the State dying without having nominated and constituted a Juvaraj or successor, his nearest male descendant descended through males, according to the rule of lineal primogeniture, and in default of such descendant, his nearest male heir descended through males from any male ancestor of his, according to the said rule, shall succeed to the said Chiefship, preference in either case being given to those of the whole blood over those of the half-blood.

4. That in matters relating to the appointment of a successor and the succession to the said Chiefship not heretofore expressly provided for, the usages of the said Raj family shall prevail.

5. That every succession to the said Chiefship shall, as heretofore, require the recognition of the Government of India.

6. Raja Radhakishore Manikya may rest assured that nothing shall disturb the operation of this Sanad, so long as he and his heirs are loyal to the Crown and faithful to the British Government.

Simla,
the 21st June, 1904.

Sd/- AMPTHILL
Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Ref. Aitchison, C. U. - 'A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads' Vol. II, 1909 Edition, P. 283; also Sandys, E. F., History of Tripura,. Calcutta, 1915, PP. 94-95, Foreign : Internal A : August, 1904, Nos. 116-131.

Appendix - 'B'

Letter from Chief Dewan to the Editor, Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, dated 6.6.1919 with a note on the History of Triprua.

Subject : History of Tripura.

No. 598
I-I

To
The Editor,
Newul Kishore Press,
Lucknow.

Dt. 6.6.1919

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 1214 dt. 2.5.1919 to the Private Secretary to H. H., I have the honour to forward herewith a note on the History of the State and war work.

Sd/- Illegible.
Chief Dewan.

Appendix - 'B'

(Enclosure)

Subject : History of Tripura

CHIEF DEWAN'S OFFICE.
TIPPERA STATE
AGARTALA

TIPPERA STATE

Tippera (or Hill Tippera, as it now called) state is one of the oldest Kingdoms of ancient India and on opening a map of India, one may at once find it indicated by a yellow patch of country just to the east of Bengal.

It is bounded on the north by the districts of Tippera and Sylhet, on the east by the Lushai Hills, on the south by the districts of Chittagong Hill Tracts, and on the west by the district of Tippera.

At one time the kingdom was very extensive and comprised almost half the present of Assam and a considerable portion of Bengal. Even as late as 1876 the area was 6386 Sq. miles. Its present area is about 4,086 Sq. miles and it contains a population of 2,29,613 (1911) with a revenue of over twelve lakhs of rupees. Besides the Maharaja is holder of extensive zamindaries in the British districts of Sylhet, Tippera and Noakhali, covering an area of over 600 Sq. miles and bringing in a revenue of about ten lakhs of rupees a year.

History of the Family :

(a) Early History : The ancient history of Tippera begins

as early as the time of the Mahabharat and the ruling family of Tippera belongs to the Lunar race of Kshatriya kings, through Drujhyu, a younger son of Jajati, the great Emperor of India, in the Epic period, and the chronicles of the kings of Tippera known as the Rajamala, describe the migration of a Prince of the Lunar race to Assam, the then Kirat-land in the far east. In course of time the family succeeded in establishing a kingdom, which at one time extended as far as the borders of Burma in the east, Aracan in the south, the Brahmaputra on the north and the Ganges on the west.

On such old days no authentic history is available though the Rajamala noted above gives valuable materials to a student of history.

The rock-cut images of Gods in the Unakoti hills and the carvings in the Devatamura ranges are fine specimens of old Hindu sculpture and have been pronounced by many to be of pre-Buddhistic style.

It was Ratna Deva, who received the title of "Manikya" from Tugral Khan, the ruler of Bengal, in return for the friendly present of a rare gem said to have been obtained from a frog and since then the rulers of Tippera have been using this title along with their names. The family appellation is "Dev Barman" usually borne by the Kshatriyas.

(b) Later Authentic History : The early history of the ancient kingdom of Tippera is obscure till the 11th century. Towards the close of the 13th century the rulers of Tippera for the first time came in touch with the Mohamedans of Bengal, and in the first battle that took place with them

the Mohamedans were utterly defeated.

Bijoy Manikya I, flourished about the middle of the 16the century and even the Moghul emperors acknowledged his military power. The following extract from a translation of the Ain-i-Akbari (translation of Francis Gladwin) bears a vivid testimony to this :

"Bordering upon Bhatty is a very extensive country subject to the king of Tipperah whom they style Joyah Manik and whoever is possessed of Rajship bear the title of Manik at the end of their names and all the nobility are called Narayan. Their military force consists of a thousand elephants, two hundred thousand infantry but they have few or no cavalry".

The first regular warfare with the Mohamedans was during the time of Dhanya Manikya, whose commander-in-chief, Chaichag, twice defeated the troops of Hossain Shah, the ruler of Gaur. The result was that Chittagong fall into the hands of the rulers of Tippera, who governed the country for a long time, till wrested away by the Magh rulers of Arracan.

The condition of the kingdom was equally flourishing during the time of Amar Manikya towards the close of the 16th century. His gradson, Jashodhar Manikya was however attacked by Nurulla Khan, a General of Jhangir, and taken a prisoner to Delhi, where he was set at liberty, but he preferred to spend the rest of his time in holy places like Benaras, Mathura and Brindaban. He died at Brindaban at the age of 72. His successor Kalyan Manikya who ruled towards the middle of the 17th century, was a strong ruler and drove away the Moghuls from Tippera.

Towards the close of the 17th century the Nawabs of Bengal however succeeded, due to internal feuds and struggles among the members of the Raj family, in establishing their supremacy over the state, and for a pretty long time they played the part of King-makers to the rulers of Tippera, the ultimate result of which was that during the time of Dhanya Manikya II, the plain portion of the State, which now constitute the zamindaries in the British territory, fell in 1732 into the hands of the Mohamedans of Bengal. The Supremacy of the Nawabs of Bengal continued till the time of Bijoy Manikya II, which is about the middle of the 18th century.

With the grant of the Dewani of Bengal to the British in 1765 the proprietorship of the zamindari portion of the state fell into the English and hence the first touch with the English was in Krishna Manikya's time (1760-83). Accordingly Mr. Ralph Leake was appointed the first British Resident in Tippera with headquarters at Comilla, whose main duty was to control the administration of the zamindaries with the aid of the state officials, but in respect of the state proper the Rulers were partially independent.

There is no treaty with the British Government. During Maharaja Bir Chandra Manikya Bahadur's time troubles having arisen in regard to boundary questions and the raids of the Lushais, the Government appointed a political Agent in 1871 to reside at Agartala, the capital. In 1872 the post of political Agent was abolished, but it was revived in 1911, the Magistrate of Tippera acting as Ex-officio Political Agent during this interval.

The State pays no tribute to Government.

In the absence of any treaty with Government the

position of the state was declared in 1870 by the Government of India to be that of a feudatory.

The Maharaja receives a salute of 13 guns sanctioned under orders of Her Majesty the Queen Empress Victoria dated the 26th June 1867.

The Maharaja has powers of passing sentences of death and extradition between British India and the State is governed by the general laws on the subject.

The state maintains a military force of about 250 men and a police force of 341. There are state courts presided over by Judges, Magistrates and Munsiffs. There is also a privy Council to advise His Highness in desposing of important civil and criminal cases in which appeals lie to His Highness.

(c) Present Ruler : The present ruler of the state is His Highness the Bisamasamara Bijoyee Mahamohodaya Panchasrijukta Maharaja Birendra Kishore Dev Barman Manikya Bahadur. According to the family geneology His Highness is 175th in descent from the founder of the dynasty. He is the eldest son of the Late Maharaja Radhakishore Dev Barman Bahadur and was born on the 3rd of Nov. 1883. He was invested with the Jubrajship on the 8th Feb. 1899. He assumed charge of the state on the 13th March 1909. The installation ceremony of His Highness took place on the 25th Nov. of the same year, in which His Honour Sir Lancelot Hare, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., the then Leiutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam represented the Government.

(d) War Activities : At the outbreak of war His Highness placed all the resources of the state at the disposal of the Government of India and this offer was accepted by Government.

His Highness made the following war contributions and gifts :

1. One Lakh of rupees credited to His Majesty's Government towards the general expenses of the war.

2. Imperial Indian Relief Fund -

1st instalment	Rs. 12,000/-
2nd instalment	Rs. 3,750/-
3rd instalment	Rs. 15,000/-
4th instalment	Rs. 1,00,000/- (to be paid)

3. Bengalee Battalion Patriotic Fund - Rs. 5,380/-

4. Lady Carmichael Womens' war Fund (From Her Highness the Maharani) Rs. 5,700/-

5. Y. M. C. A. .... Rs. 100/-

6. St. Dunstan's Day Fund ... Rs. 150/-

7. Maintenance of an Ambulance Car in France for one year ..... Rs. 3,600/-

8. Our day Fund ... Rs. 1,000/-

9. Bonus to Recruits ... Rs. 1,025/-

10. Uniform for Recruits ... Rs. 336/-

11. Travelling and other expenses for the Recruits ... Rs. 380/-

12. 800 Khaki Shirts for the 11th Rajputs serving in Mesopotamia ... Rs. 1,812/-

13. Gift of one Motor Boat for Ambulance work in Mesopotamia worth about .. Rs. 25000/-

Appendix - 'C'

Major General Sir H. D. Watson's D. O. No. 457/Camp dated 12.9.1921 to Minister, Tripura State, along with the letter of Watson to the Political Secretary, regarding the Reorganisation of Tripura State Troops.

No. 457/Camp

Agartala
12th September '21.

My dear Mr. Gupta,

I send you herewith, as promised, the draft of my letter to the Political Secretary, regarding the Reorganisation of Tippera State Troops. If there is anything in it which you consider misleading or as contrary to the views or intentions of His Highness, I hope you will let me know.

In any case will you please indicate your concurrence with, or remarks on, the draft as early as convenient. I shall be at Imphal, Manipur until 18th September. Thereafter it would be better to address me at Simla.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Hanry D. Watson

To
Rai P. K. Das Gupta Bahadur,
Minister, Tippera State.

Appendix - 'C'

(Enclosure)

From
The Inspector-General,
Imperial Service Troops.

To
The Political Secretary to the Government of India
Foreign and Political Department,
Simla.

Dated Simla,
21st September, 1921.

Sir,

I have the honour to report for your information that Lieut-Colonel Thourpson and I arrived at Agartala, Tripura State, on the 10th instant, for the purpose of discussing the question of the reorganisation of the Tripura State Troops.

2. His Highness the Maharaja, who has extended the utmost hospitality to us, will furnish Government later on with his detailed proposals in the matter.

3. His Highness is most anxious to do all in his power to assist the Imperial Government not only with troops but with all the resources of his State, in time of grave emergency, and is in full accord with all the main principles of the Scheme for Reorganisation of Indian State Forces. At present His Highness maintains a force of Infantry amounting to some 276 all told. He is now anxious to

maintain a samll battalion of Infantry consisting of 1 Head Quarter Company and two Companies on Indian Army Establishment and organisation - the Military Budget of the State not permitting of the maintenance of greater numbers. This small battalion will be primarily maintained for Internal Security of the Tripura Stae, but on grave emergency if other arrangements can be made for Internal Security duties, this unit may possibly be offered to Government for service outside the State.

4. Lieut-Colonel Thompson and I having discussed details with His Highness' Minister and Council are fully in accord with His Highness' proposal.

5. We consider that this small battalion will be able to suitably maintain the Internal Security of the Tripura State, and should normally be earmarked for that alone and that the finances of the State do not at present permit of the maintenance of larger numbers, to include the maintenance of a complete unit for loan to Government on emergency, together with the necessary maintenance and Internal Security troops, in addition.

6. His Highness' Minister informs me that the troops will be adequately paid and kept contented and loyal to their Ruler - and that His Highness will, for the efficient training of these troops probably apply for the services of "lent" officers to act as Military Advisor.

My Committee recommend the issue of modern rifles to the above preferably the Long H. V. 303 Rifle.

7. His Highness afforded us every opportunity of inspecting his troops and his police. The personnel of the

former is good, the men are well turned out, handle their arms well, and march very well.

8. The question of armed police cropped up during the discussions. The present armed police are armed with "gas pipe" totally useless and unserviceable, and we are strongly in sympathy with the Durbar's request for the early supply of better weapons to the police.

I have the honour to be

Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

Sd/- Hanry D. Watson
Major-General,
Inspector-General,
Imperial Service Troops..

Appendix - 'D'

D. O. of P. K. Dasgupta, Minister, Tripura State, to Major-General Sir H. D. Watson, D. O. No. 112 dated 19.9.1921.

D. O. No. 112

The 19th September, 1921
Agartala.

Dear General Watson,

Thank you for your kind note of the 12th September, (D. O. No. 457 Camp) and its enclosure.

The draft of your letter to the Political Secretary to the Government of India correctly embodies all that we agreed to in the conference and I have hardly anything to add. As, however, His Highness was ill during the conference and we were denied the benefit of direct cousultation with him, I have placed the proceedings of the conference for His Highness' consideration and final orders. Rana Bodhjung Bahadur, Private Secretary to His Highness informed me yesterday that His Highness seemed inclined to favour the alternative suggested by you to appoint an Assistant Military Advisor for Tripura and Manipur, stationed at a Central place. With such an arrangement it may not be necessary to lend an officer to the Durbar.

The Durbar appreciate your remarks about the arming of the police and trust that an adequate number of good

guns will be available almost immediately. I may be permitted to remind you that we have been in correspondence with the Local Government on the subject for a long time now.

Major-General Sir H. D. Watson,
Camp Imphal (Manipur State).

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- P. K. Das Gupta,
Minister, Tripura State.

Appendix - 'E'

Letter of P.K. Das Gupta Bahadur, Minister, Tripura to the political Agent (No. 2181/ 1-2 dated 10.1.1923).

No. 2181
1-2

From : Rai P.K. Das Gupta Bahadur,
Minister, Tripura.

To
The Political Agent
Tripura, Commilla,

Dated, Agartala,
the 10th January,
1923.

Sir,

With reference to your Memo. No. 38-p of the 8th January last forwarding copy of letter No. 48-P of the 4th January from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the subject of the re-orgsnisation of the Tripura State troops, I have the honour to State that " Half battalion " will consist of one headquarter company and two cpmpanies of the Indian Army unit, with 481 men and 9 commissioned officers and 9 non- commissioned officers.

2. Referring to para 2 of the Government letter, I beg leave to point out that the question of the system of command in war has been referred to in clauses 1,3 and 4 of para 8 of this office letter No. 911 of the 24th July, in which it was stated that the Durbar recognised the impossibility of referring to the State authorities and waiting for their orders about promotion in the field, the

Durber agreeing that promotion while on active service should rest with the field commanding officer subject to subsequent confirmation by the Durber concerned. The Durber agreed as to the advantage of having the same or similar discipilinary rules as governing the Indian Army for the State troops. They also agreed that the rank and titles should be based on the strength of units in accordance with the standard of the Indian Army and suggested that the honours and privileges accorded to the officers of the Indian Army should be extended to the officers of the State Force-- either in time of war or in time of peace, and they should wear the same badge and uniform for a particular rank with the name of the State impressed somewhere on them. Thus the Durbar accepted practically all the recomendations contained in appendices A,B,C, and D to your letter No. 319 P dated the 24th February, 1921.

I have the honour to be

Sir,
Your most obident servent,
Sd/- P.K. Das Gupta
Minister Tripura.

Appendix - 'F'

Minister's Letter No. 911/1-2 dated, 24.7. 1922 to the Political Agent.

No. 911/1-2

Minister's Office,
Tripura State,
Agartala.

From,
Rai P.K. Das Gupta Bahadur,
Minister, Tripura State.

Dated, Agartala,
the 24th July, 1922.

To
The Political Agent,

Sir,

I have the honour to invite reference to the correspondance resting with your letter No. 646/8-4 p of the 16th/ 17th May on the subject to the reorganisation of the Tripura State Troops and to submit under the direction of His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura, the proposals embodied in the following paragraphs.

2. As I informed you in my D.O. Letter No. 113 of the 15th September, 1921, His Highness has accepted most of the recommendations of the Government of India and the Militiary Committee presided over by Major- General H.D Watson. The Durbar gratefully acknowledges the efforts of the Governement of India to improve the Military Strength of the Indian States and records its apprecitation of the opportunity given to this small State to participate in the scheme of reorganisation of the Imperial Defence to India.

3. His Highness is always anxious to do his bit in the Imperial Defence and the Durber will gladly do for the Defence of India all that the financial capacity of the State allows. His Highness appreciates the fact that the scheme has been put on a voluntary basis.

4. The present Military Strength of the State consists of 212 men and 64 officers, making a total of 276. The Durbar proposes to incresre the strength of half a battalion.

5. The Force will for the present be employed in maintaining internal security in the State.

6. Hia Highness would immediately ask for the services of an officer of the Indian Army of the rank of Subeder Major to give a start to the work with the present force, also for assisting in recuriting work and a separate letter on the subject will be addressed to you shortly.

7. The question of the pay and allowances of the men and the officers should be left to the discretion of the Durbar; it being, however, understood that if the State Forces are ever called upon to be on active service outside the State, they should be entitled to the standard pay of the Indian Army.

8. The Views of the Durbar regarding the special proposals contained in the Government of India letter No. 43-1B dated the 5the January, 1921 , and the questions framed thereon are noted below :--

(i) The Durbar recognises the impossibility of referring to the State authorities and waiting for their orders about promotion in the Field; so they agree that promotions while on active service should rest with

the Field Commanding officer, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Durber concerned.

(ii) The Durbar agrees that the State Forces should be so organised and inproved that they might deal with internal security themeselves. The Durbar would, however, make it clear that when the State Forces find themeselves unable to cope with a serious internal trouble, the Imperial Government should render effective assistance.

(iii) The advantage of having the same or similar disciplinary rules is recognised.

(iv) When the Rank and Titles are based on the strength of the Units in accordance with the standard of the Indian Army, the honours and privileges accorded to the officers of the Indian Army should be extended to the officers of the State Force either in the time of war or in time of peace and they should wear the same badge and uniform for a particular Rank with the name of the State impressed somewhere on them.

(v) The advantages of a training college are recognised.

(vi) The Durbar would readily avail itself of the opportunity of having the State Forces trained by attaching them to regular Units for some time or placing them occasionally under a British officer, if necessary.

(vii) The advantage of joining some army school or class is recognised.

(viii) An officer might be lent if the Durbar wanted it or the system of Military Advisors continued. There might be one Militiary Advisor with Head Quarters at a Central place-- say Sylhet, for this State and Coochbehar.

(ix) The Durbar would welcome the expert assistance of the Military Advisor whenever needed.

(x) It is recognised that a complete army list of Indian State Forces would be of advantage.

(xi) The Durbar might correspond direct with the Militiary Advisor or the Political Department of the Government of India in all Military matters.

9. State Forces should be supplied with standard arms and ammunitions from the Govrnment arsenals on payment, if required. The Military Committee thought that arms might perhaps be supplied by the Imperial Government free of cost.

10. The Durbar wishes to make it clear that the present proposal should be regarded as entirely voluntary and subject to reconsidereation by the Durbar at any future time, the Durbar being at liberty to add to or reduce the Military strength according to its financial capacity and the exigencies of the time.

11. During war time on service outside the State, the entire cost of mobilisation, maintenance and equipment should be charged to Imperial Revenues, unless the Durbar offers to bear the cost in particular cases.

12. The Durbar thinks that the full number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers entertained in the Indian Army Units need not be employed here immediately.

13. The Durbar would ask for the immediate supply of at least Two Hundred Standard Rifles for the existing force.

14. The Durbar trusts that these proposals, though very modest, will be acceptable to the Government of India as representing the loyal cooperation of the Durbar with the scheme of Imperial defence and regarded as quite in proportion to the resources of the State.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/- P.K. Das Gupta,
Minister, Tripura State.

Appendix - 'G'

Letter from J.D. Vere Hodge, Political Agent , to the Minister of Tripura, No. 812 P1/III-3, dated 22nd May, 1923.

25th

No. 812 P1
III-3
From :
J.D. Vere Hodge , Esq., I.C.S.,
Political Agent,
Tripura, State.

To
The Minister,
Tripura,
Agartala.

Dated, Comilla
the 22nd May, 1923.
25th

Sir,

With reference to the correspondance resting with your letter No. 2181/1-8 of the 10th January last on the subject of the Re-organisation of the Indian State Force, I have the honour to say that the proposals contained in that letter and in your letter No, 911/1-2 of the 24th July last were duly submitted to the Government of India, and to communicate their orders :--

2. The Durbar proposes to increase the present State Forces of 276 Infantry and to maintain a half Battalion consisting of a Headquarters Company and two Companies on Indian Army establishments. The force is intended for the internal security of the State for which the Durbar are prepared to undertake responsibility. The Government of

India prefer that the Durbars should maintain their troops so as to ensure internal security rather than that they should endeavour to provide a fractional unit for loan to Government which would be difficult to utilise and which would reduce the number of troops for internal security at the time when they would be of most value. The maintenance of units ear-marked for internal security would enable the Military authorities to withdraw regular troops for active service should the necessity arise. At the same time should a Durbar be unable to cope with serious internal disorder arising out of a general disturbance in India. Government would be prepared to render assistance to the State. In the circumstances the Government of India approve of the Tripura Durbar's Reorganisation Scheme.

3. Para 10 of your letter No. 911/1-2 of 24. 7.22, referred to above, the Durbar stipulate that they should be at liberty to add to or reduce the military strength of the State if this is necessary on financial and other grounds. The Government of India consider, however, that any Material charge in the strength of the military forces should be submitted for the approval of Government since this is necessary on military grounds.

4. With regard to the Durbar's request made in para 13 of your aforesaid letter and your letter No. 722/IV-I dated 20th / 25th June, 1921, to be supplied on payment with at least 200 rifles for the existing force I am to say that the Government of India cannot agree to the issue of arms, which would be given loan, until the reorganisation has been carried out and the troops are reported by the Military Advisor- in-Chief Indian State Forces, to be

efficient and until the State has provided the necessary bells of arms and magazine for the storage of the arms and ammunition. It is also necessary that the Tripura State Forces should be commanded by a suitable Indian officer before sanction can be accorded to the issue of rifles.

5. In regard to the question of incidence of cost of troops when employed on active service, vide para 11 of your ltter No. 911, I enclose copy of Government of India, Foreign Department Resoluition No. 3712 -- 1.B., dated the 29th September, 1897 for the information of the Durbar.

6. The question of the appointment of an Assistant Military Advisor to supervise the training of the Tripura State Forces(para 8(ix) of your letter quoted above) is under the consideration of the Government of India.

I have etc. etc.,
S/d - J.D.V. Hodge
Political Agent,
25.5.1923.

Appendix --'H'

Political Agent's Letter No. 1256-P dated the 19th August, 1936 to the Minister, Tripura State.

No. 1256 P

From :
S. N. Ray, Esq.,I.C.S.
Political Agent,
Tripura State.

To
The Minister,
Tripura State,
Agartala.

Dated, Comilla,
the 19th August, 1936.
20th

Sir

I have the honour to address you on the subject of revision of State Forces.

The Government of India has, after careful considreation, come to the conclusion, that it is advisable to defer for the present, any revision of the 1920 scheme. If in connection with the establishment of Federation, any general revision is found to be desirable it is thought that the question could be more suitably dealt with after consideration of such proposals as may be put forward by the parties concrened.

In the mean - time it appears essential that steps should be taken at as an early date as possible to remedy the defects in the equipment of the Indian States Forces "A" class troops which are earmarked for use by Government in case of emergency and which may be required at short

notice. The Government of India therefore now proposes as an interim measure to revive the 1920 scheme for these earmarked troops only and are prepared to supply these units at Government expense with the extra arms and connected equipment now required to bring them up to the level of Regular Troops, provided --

(i) that such units maintain a standard of efficiency which Government consider to be adequate.

(ii) that in the event of Government considering that any unit has failed, after due warning, to carry this condition the State concerned will. on demand, give back such arms and equipmnt as Government may call on them to return ; and

(iii) that Government are authorised by the State to assure that the Rulers concerned will, in times of emergency, place these units at the disposal of Government.

I am to request that the above may kindly be put before the Tripura Durbar and the Durbar's agreement to this proposal may be communicated as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Sd/- S.N Ray
Political Agent.

Appendix --'I'

Political Agent's Letter No. 1494-P/XII-45, dated 7.10.1936 to the Minister, Tripura State.

From :
S. N. Ray, Esq.,I.C.S.
Political Agent,
Tripura State.

To
The Minister,
Tripura State,

Agartala.

Dated, Comilla,
the 7th October 1936.

No. 1494 P
XII- 45

Subject :--Reorganisation of the Indian States Forces.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to above subject for the information of the Tripura Durbar.The Government of India have decided that the Classification of Units of the Indian State Forces as class "A" or class "B" Troops will depend on whether they follow the Indian Army organisation and establishgments. State Forces which follow such organisation will be Class "A", and the object in arming them for the most part, with exactly the same weapons as corresponding Units of the Regular Army. is that such Units will be able to cooperative readily with the Regular Forces.The Government of India have accordingly decided that in future Indian State Units of a strength of less then

1 squardon of Cavalry, 1 Company of Sappers and Miners, or 1 Company of Infntary, will not as a rule, be included in category "A".

The Government of India also desires that the principles noted above will normally be applied to existing Units which may be reorganised in future as well as to new entrants to the Indian States Forces Scheme.

I have etc.,

Sd/- S.N Ray
Political Agent.

Appendix --'J'

Resolution No.1 of the 8th sitting of the State Council, dated the 18th Bhadra, 1349 T.E. (1939).

As his Majrsty's Government is at war with Germany it is hereby ordered that any potential hostile foreigners entering into or living in Tripura State be arrested at once and kept in custody pending orders of the Political Department.

All officers of police or above the rank of Sub- Inspector of Police in charge of a Thana in the State are hereby authorised to make such arrests.

A report of any such arrest made should be sent to the Political Department of the State. Copy of the report should be sent to the Commissioner of police at the same time.

The person arrested should be taken to the nearest Magistrate for orders of demand to custody pending order of the Political Department.

The Political Department of the State deal with such person at its discretion.

Rana Bodhjung
President , State Council.

Appendix -'K'

Letter from the Secretary, East States , Calcutta to the Chief Minister, Tripura State, Agartala dated the 24th November, 1941 regarding the movement of 1st Tripura Rifles in British India for training.

SECRET.EASTER STATES AGENCY

Express letter.

No.F.1(2)-C/41-1034. Dated Hastings House, Alipore Calcutta, the 24th Nov. 1941

From :--
The Secretary,
East States,
Calcutta.

To
The Chief Minister,
Tripura State,
Agartala.

Subject : Movement of 1st Tripura Rifles into British India for training.

Reference correspondance resting with my letter No. F. 1(2) - C/41- 632 dated the 21st August 1941.

As the 1st Tripura Rifles are likely to move into British India for training on about the 1st December 1941, it is requested that the notification indicated in my express letter No. W.1(14) -- C/39 dated the 28th October, 1940, may kindly be issued as early as possible and 7 copies thereof forwarded to this office.

Sd/-
Secretary to the Resident for the Easter States.

Appendix- 'L'

Movement of Tripura Rifles in British India-- draft notificarion and order of--

TRIPURA STATE GEZETTE
Extra Ordinary
1351 T.E. 26th Agrahayan, Friday.
Political Department.

Dated, Agartala,
The 12th December, 1941

NOTIFICATION

No. 2617-P-It is notified for information that the Tripura Durbar agree that the 1st Tripura Bir Bikram Manikya Rifles from the date thay leave the State for service with his Majesty's Forces will be under the Army Act and the Indian Army Act with the following provisions:--

(a) That in the case of court- martial for the trial of an accused person belonging to a State Force, One memeber at least of the Court, where practicable, belong to that State Force.

(b) That refereneces in respect of any sentence or punishment required to be made under or in pursuance of the Army Act or Indian Army Act, rules and orders to His Majesty the King or to the Army council in the case of the former, and the Governor General of India in Council in the case of the latter, shall be made to His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bhadur of Tripura, who may , on such reference being made, exercise such power as might under the said Act, rules or orders, have been exercised by His

Majesty the King, the Army Council or the Governor General in Council.

(c) That in the case of the Army Act, sentences of penel servitude or imprisonment shall be carried out under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur of Tripura.

(d) That the due application and enforcement of the aforementioned provisions, either of the Army Act or of the Indian Army Act. and the Rules and orders made under those Acts in respect of the said State Force, shall be carried out under the authority of the officer Commanding the Force, or Formation, or other Command, to which they are attached or, when such a State Force or portion thereof is proceeding to join any Force or Formation of His Majesty's Forces through which they are passing.

Rana Bodhjung
Chief Minister (offg)

Appendix- 'M'

WAR EFFORTS OF TRIPURA

January 14, 1941.

Pous 30, 1351 T.E.

(i) The entire resources of the State and personal service of the Ruler have been placed at the disposal of the Crown.

The amount of donation made by the State to the various War Funds total Rs. 57,000/- and by the employees Rs. 14,000/-, Defence Bonds purchased by the State amounts to Rs. 1,75,000/-and by the public through the State Rs. 44,000/-

The State has promised an annual donation of Rs. 50,000/- to the War purposes Fund and the employees Rs. 7,000/-

The total amount of expenditure incurred on Armed Forces is above Rs. 5,00,000/-

The 1st Tripura Bir Bikram Manikya Rifles have left the State for services outside the State and adequate reserve of Military reinforcement is being built up in the State. Some officers and other ranks of the State Force have been allowed to join the Indian Army Commission for services overseas also some others to join Indian Army Commisson for Garrision duties.

A Central War Committee with Divisional Branches has been working satisfactorily.

An internal security scheme has also been drawn up. Defence of Indian Ordinance and similar other legal measures has been adopted so far as the condition in the Sate necessitated.

In answer to the appeal issued by Her Highness of Maharani Sahiba donations are being received to Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow's Silver Trinket Fund.

(ii) A. R. P. Organisation - An A. R. P. Organisation has been drawn up and is being speeded up for the town of Agartala, the Capital of the State.

The town has been divided into six Sector corresponding to six Municipal Wards.

The police and the Military will work in close co-operation with the A. R. P. Party. They in co-operation with the Civic Guards will see that the people follow instruction as to what should be done in case of an air raid and to adopt such measures as may be immediately necessary.

An Air Raid Precaution Service has been set up and all Civic Guards are ipso facto members of the A. R. P. Service with Commissioner of police as the controller.

An electric Siren has been placed at the "Singha" gate of the palace for sounding general warning.

A complete "Black-out" in the town has been enforced by His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur's gracious orders dated the 2nd Pous, 1351 T. E.

Regular First Aid Classes have been opened for training

of Civil Guards at the Victoria Memorial Hospital, Agartala under the supervision and guidance of Captain J. M. Ghosh, M. B. D. H. P. (London) D. T. M. O. H. (cantab) C. L. S. T. M. (London), Chief Medical Officer, Tripura State.

It has further been notified that civil population in the State should be encouraged to carry a card or Indentify on which should be inscribed the name of the individual and his address together with that of a relative or next-of-kin to avoid difficulty for establishing claims for relief for injury.

(iii) "Bengal Time" has been introduced in the State with effect from the 15th Kartic, 1351 T. E. corresponding to the 1st Nov. 1941 under His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur's gracious orders dated the 9th Kartic, 1351 T. E.

The clocks in the State have been advanced by one hour in view of the lighting restrictions for A. R. P. purposes.

EDUCATIONAL CONCESSIONS OF CHILDREN OF MEN WHO TAKE PART IN THE PRESENT WAR.

Rules for awarding educational concessions to children of men who take part in the present war have been promulgated in the State under His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur's order dated the 26th December, 1941 which provides that students both boys and girls are entitled to get free studentship, stipends, as well as books in the case of the poorer ones.

PRICE CONTROL

The sudden rise of prices due to war conditions has necessitated controlling of prices and preventing hoarding and profiteering by the whole sale and retail dealers in the State.

The committee with six additional members including public and whole sale and ratail dealers with the Sadar Collector as the Chairman has recently fixed the prices of the necessary commodities of everyday's use.

Notices warning the dealers not to sale above the dates fixed have been posted at important places for the information of general public.

December 1, 1942, (Agrahayana 15, 1352 T. E.)

In my message during the last Vijaya Dasami Durbar I drew the serious attention of all my people in the State to the necessity of intensive cultivation of food-corps within the State with a view to overcoming the difficulties caused by this great War.

Again I impress on all the vital necessity of this matter and by this word of caution of mine, I express my earnest desire that every indivisual house holder with a stern determination shall devote his unstinted energy to the growing of more food productions in every inch of land at his disposal.

WAR SUPPLEMENT TO THE TRIPURA STATE GAZETTE

April 24, 1943, (Baisakh 15, 1353 T. E.)

Deeds of Gallantry in Arakan - Awards to Tripura Forces.

Of the 12 immediate awards of the Indian Distinguished Service Medal for the present operations in the Arakan, three go to men of the Tripura Rifles, (Indian State Forces), and a fourth to the Tripura Mahabir Legion. The same State Forces, have also earned an iddediate award of the Indian Order of Merit (2nd class), while one of their Officers has received the Military Cross.

L/Naik Bimal Deb of the Tripura Rifles was in action with his battalion at Kyauktaw during January and distinguished himself on three separate days. The first day, he took over Command of his Section in addition to his own duties as Bren No. 1 Gunner when his Section Commander was wounded and helped to beat off enemy attacks. The second day despite the fact that the Section was nearly surrounded, and his No. 2 Gunner was wounded, he continued to act as Section Commander and maintained his gun in action, thereby preventing enemy penetration. A few days later when the battalion had been ordered to withdraw L/Naik Bimal Deb's Platoon which was holding a hill position was shot up at close range as soon as it started to withdraw. He left his Platoon, went back to the top of the hill and maintained such accurate fire with his gun that the withdrwal was carried out without loss. By his action he showed his readiness to sacrifice his life for his men and he now receives the I. O. M. (2nd class).

During the same fighting Subedar Mingma Lama of the Tripura Rifles helped to capture an enemy entrenched position on which there was a large round tomb. While the platoon was bushing through to its final objective, it was shot up from the near by Japs within the tomb. Subedar Mingma immediately climed up a ladder outside the tomb and bombed the enemy out of it. On another occasion

when the enemy put in a night attack on the Tripura Rifles position, his Platoon bore the first shock of the attack. Inspired by the Subedar's personal leadership and courage, the Platoon beat back enemy, captured an I. M. G. position and killed two Japanese officers. Subedar Mingma Lama gets the I. D. S. M.

Jamadar Mahaswar Thapa of the same regiment led his platoon throughout the heavy fighting at Kyaktew with conspicious gallantry and energy. During an attack on vital forward point his platoon was first in advance and he spurred on his men to capture the point despite heavy enemy fire, when the enemy put in blitz attack, Jamadar Maheswar Thapa quickly reorganised his platoon to meet the sudden threat and successfully repelled the enemy. For these exploits, he receives the I. D. S. M.

Hav. Jarkarnna Rai of the same regiment was also involved in the same fighting with his platoon. At one point when our position was overlooked by another hill on which the enemy were entrenched, this N. C. O. crawled upto the enemy trenches and bombed them out. He then organised snipers who kept the enemy at bay while he himself went to an forward position from which he sniped killed several Japanese. By his example Hav. enabled his platoon to hold on to a precarious position and he has been awarded I. D. S. M.

Subedar Pargit Gurung of the Tripura Mahabir Legion was in action on the same occasion for 36 hours against continuous sniping, mortar and 1 m. g. fire without food or water. He lost touch with his senior officer at a time when his men were dispersed in the jungle but he showed great courage and endurance in collecting his men under heavy fire and bringing them back to H. Q. for this he receives the I. D. S. M.

Appendix-'N'

Maharaja Manikya Bahadur's gracious order, dated the 20th June 1942 in connection with the measures to be taken in the event of hostilities within India.

GOVERNMENT OF TRIPURA
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

SECRET
No. 1962.

Agartala,
The 23rd August, 1942

Subject : *Measures to be taken in the event of hostilities within India.*

His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur's gracious order, dated the 20th June, 1942, is as follows :

"I shall like to know what action the Chief Commandant, the Commissioner of police and other State authorities will take in the case of such landing".

The Chief Commandant, Tripura State Forces proposes as below :

The organised warning system through 42 Militia posts situated on strategical places in the State is working satisfactorily in sending messages to the Headquarter, Agartala, from one post to another.

Individual parachutist will be arrested and sent to headquarter, Agartala, by those Militia posts. In case of opposition by large number of enemies, those posts will retire to the jungle and send message to the headquarter for necessary action.

The Commissioner of police Reports :

Secret instructions have already been issued to all treasury guards and thanas as to how to tackle parachutists. They should either capture them alive or shoot them alive or shoot them down when the number of parachutists are not too many for them. In case of mass landing they have been instructed to retire according to plan and the harass the enemy in all possible ways without running the risk of being captured with arms and ammunitions. Complete non-cooperation has to be observed with the invaders by the local people. Food stuff may be dropped from Aeroplanes for the parachutists and it should be destroyed, if possible, before the parachutists who have landed, can pick them up.

To spread the news of parachuts landing throughout the country-side the only workable method seems to be sending news through messengers from picket post to picket post as organised by His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur. Isolated as the villages are hills, deep ravines etc., coming in between the villages .... the alarm give by blowing of coanch-shells, ringing of hand-bells, beating of drums etc., are not likely to go far to be of any practical use.

Suitable reward may be offered for the capture of each Japanese.

Defence of India Act and Rules will be freely applied against those who conceal or harbour enemies or fail to report any such occurance.

The Civil Defence Minister Bahadur says :

It is understood that military picket posts have been established at strategic points with elaborate arrangements to meet the contigencies. But details of some are not known. Commissioner of police has stated the measures he has taken as noted above. But I am afraid as far as the arrangement for transmission of news is concerned by itself it is too limited. The Civil Defence Department is advising the general public specially villagers to adopt the "Denial to and non-cooperation with enemy" policy as far as practicable and to capture or kill if any solidary enemy lands if it could possibly be accomplished without incurring risk to personal safety.

As for sending immediate information of the landing or appearance of enemy anywhere to the authorities instructions are being issued to send such information forthwith to the Headquarters authorities if possible direct, if not through police thana, Tahasil, Cutchary or Forest Post if necessary by village relays. But it is hoped that the best result could only be achieved if the measures which are being adopted by the several authorities are co-ordinated and their resources pooled together for the common interest.

The undersingned agrees with the actions suggested by the Chief Commandant, Tripura State forces, Commissioner of police and the Civil Defence Minister Bahadur and has nothing further to end.

Most respectfully submitted to His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur for favour of such orders as His Highness may be graciously pleased to pass.

Sd/-
Chief Minister.

Appendix - 'O'

Tripura State Consolidated Administration Report for 1353, 1354 & 1355 T. E. (1943-46 A. D.) Govt. of Tripura.

The triennium under report witnessed the last phase of the Great War and the violent struggle all over the world that proceeded the downfall of the Axis. With the strife in the Indo-Burma fornt embittered, the territories of the State virtually turned into an active battle-field and shared all risks and dangers of the situation including heavy bombing raids from enemy planes. In spite of the grim determination of the Allies, it was not, however, till the closing year of the triennium that the goal was actually achieved in the unconditional surrender of Germany on the 5th May and that of Japan on the 14th August, 1945.

WAR ACTIVITIES OF TRIPURA

As the war situation grew in intensity, the activities of the State in direct and indirect aid of defence of India developed vigorously on the subjoined lines :

(A) Mobilisation of the State Forces.

(i) The services of the 1st Tripura B. B. M. Rifles, the leading unit of the State Forces, were promptly placed, fully strengthened and equipped, at the disposal of the Indian Army for participation in active operations outside the State, and a Depot consisting of a company for reinforcement of the Unit and a full-fledged Training Centre were maintained at Agartala, the capital town.

(ii) All other units of the Forces, regular and irregular, were also adequately strengthened without delay and

kept ready for emergency, while a trained contingent of "V" Force, styled "the Triprua Mahabeer Legion" was raised for guerrilla warfare throughout the Forward Zone, and a Company was mobilised for garrison duties outside the State.

(iii) A special feature was the organisation of a fully equipped Militia of considerable strength, designated "The Tripura Rajya Rakshi Bahini", to man a chain of picket posts all along the state border and adjoining places outside, as also for intelligence duties and general security service as reserve.

(iv) Permission was accorded to officers of the State Forces to join the Indian Army for garrison duties outside, and to suitable persons, including members of the Ruling Family, to accept Commissions, in British Indian Army for active service.

(v) Strong contingents of military forces were detailed for internal security purposes.

(vi) The police forces, both civil and armed, were expanded and properly equipped.

(vii) The Civic Guards and A. R. P. were substantially strengthened.

(viii) Vigorous propaganda measures all round were initiated for facilitating recruitment and generating a spirit or co-operation among the people for defence of India and to make the masses war-minded and ready to contribute their might to the common cause.

(ix) Reservation and transfer to the Military Command

of sites for Aerodromes, Observation posts, Roads and Hospitals, as well as acquisition of extensive areas for troops movements, camping and use as practice Grounds, such as Field Firing and Bombing Ranges, as also other war purposes, were arranged with promtitude.

(x) Execution of the construction of elaborate strategic trunk roads and numerous other works and buildings was undertaken by the State Government at the request of the military authorities, while a number of important buildings were made over to the military for use.

(B) War Contributions and Investments.

(i) Director and regular cash contribution to war purposes funds by the State Government, His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur, as well as state employees and the people, together with similar contributions by His Highness to the Red Cross, St. Dunstan's Fund and St. John Ambulance Association, besides periodical contribution to various ancillary funds inaugurated, were from the very beginning arranged.

(ii) Huge contributions in kind, of bamboo, timber and various road and construction materials were made in addition to regular supplies at fixed rates, and lated on price of timber and fuel was controlled by promulgation of Order No. VII, 1355 T. E.

(iii) There were besides considerable investments by the Tripura Govt., His Highness, Her Highness the Maharanee Saheba and the people, in purchase of war Bonds and Certificates.

(C) Other Incidental Measures.

(i) Civil defence measures initiated included supply of foodstuff at concession price to the employes and the people, with arrangements for food dumps and granaries in different places of the State.

(ii) War emergency allowance whenever necessary and aditional expenditure in the Secretariate for extra appointments and persons were provided for, and various other indirect measures adopted.

(iii) Vigorous attempt was to made to keep the food supply steady and to push on the Grow Mores Food Campaign.

Man Power and Extra Expenditure :

The total strength of Man Power organised by the State in expension of its forces to meet the emergency came up to over 8,000 roughly. The Extra Expenditure incurred in such expansions and ancillery measures, direct and indirect, stood at the end of the triennium at Rs. 29,88,000/- and Direct Cash Contributions at Rs. 1,75,402/-, aggregating altogether Rs. 31,63,402/-, while Investments amounted to Rs. 6,35,000/-.

The Soldiers of Tripura and Their Sacrifice :

In the all improtant task of reorganisation and mobilisation of forces to meet the grave menace suddenly found lowering at the very gates of the State, specially in the great constructive measures of raising with the utmost expedition "The Rajya Rakshi Bahinis" and "The Tripura Mahabeer Legion" ("V" Force) - the leading part was, it is

a matter of pleasure to note, taken by His Highness personally, and with what result the subjoint appreciation of Field Marshal His Excellency Sir Claude Auchinleek, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, of the services rendered by the statetroops in the final struggle, as recently conveyed by His Representative, Brigadier Bain, on the occasion of the presentation of a Salute Gun to the State as a memento, will show :

"YOUR HIGHNESS - I have the honour to come here today, to present a Saluting Gun, on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Indian Army, in commemoration of the comradeship which existed between the Indian Army and your Highnesses Troops which served under the Crown during the war 1939-45, and in appreciation of the contribution made by your Troops to the common effort.

Right from the black days of early 1942, your Troops were in the thick of the fighting, first as Guerrillas and in "V" Force, watching possible enemy approaches, operating behind their movements.

At the end of 1942 and in 1943, the 1st Tripura Rifles and the Tripura Mahabeer Legion worked with the 14th Indian Division in the Arakan, protecting the lines of communications of the forward Troops, and by their skilfull ambushes killing large number of Japanese.

Finally, in 1945, your Troops worked with both "V" Force and the West Africans, and were the first Unit to land on Ramres, and it was very fitting that your Forces should, play so large a part in the capture of these vital air

bases of Akyab and Ramree, from which the Troops advancing on Rangoon were supplied for it was from your own capital here, at Agartala, that Troops in the jungle were first supplied by air on a large scale, in 1943".

In Accepting the Valuable Souvenir, His Highness Delivered the Following Speech :

"Today I feel really very glad to receive from you, Brigadier Bain, this Saluting Gun which you are presenting on behalf of the renowned soldier Field Marshal His Excellency Sir Claude Auchinleek, Commander-in-Chief and the Indian Army, in commemoration of the services rendered by my State Forces in the last Great War. Brigadier Bain, I am accepting the valuable present on behalf of myself, my State and my Military Forces with the greatest pleasure, joy and pride.

Ancient history abounds in chronicles full of glorious victories achieved by the brave sons of Tripura. The most appreciative terms in which you have just now recounted the important part played recently by the Tripura State Forces in the various theatres of the last Great War, will, I am sure, enrich the history of the State and its people and elevate Tripura to a most exalted position in the estimation of the future generations. Brigadir Bain, I thank you most heartily for your kind expression.

In the grave struggle, we fully realised that the evil forces that were arrayed against humanity and civilisation must be subdued; we considered it our solemn duty to contribute all that was possible to do in the common cause to fight this aggression on civilised life and all that it stood

for. We did only what was our duty and nothing more.

I request you, Brigadier Bain, to kindly convey our warm and grateful thanks to Field Marshal His Excellency Sir Claude Auchinleek for this splendid and complimentary present.

With the termination of the devastating War, I pray to the Almighty Father that peace be firmly established in the world through His infinite grace."

Gallentry Awards and Casullties :

Altogether 69 officers and men of the Tripura Forces received Gallantry Awards such as M. C., M. B. E., I. O. M., I. D. S. M., Bar to I. D. S. M. M. M., Burma Gallantry Medal, Mention in Despatches, and C-in-C's Commendation Cards; but the highest and undying honour has no doubt been won by the gallant officers named below and also the brave soldiers, not a few in number, who ungrudgingly sacrificed their lives in the defence of India

1. Lt. Col. Kumar Kiron Deb Barman Bahadur, Commandant. 1st Tripura Rifles. (Uncle of H. H. the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur).

2. Capt. Maharajkumar Arjun Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur, M. C. (step brother of H. H. the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur).

3. Major D. M. B. Smart, S. S. O. Tripura Training Unit.

4. Lt. Gome Lame.

5. 2/lt. Indu Bikash Choudhury.*

6. 2/Lt. Dhirendra Ch. Deb Barman.*

7. Sub/Major Harka Bahadur Chetri.

8. Jem Bal Bahadur Thapa. I. O. M.

* Regarding Gallantry Awards of the officers of the Tripura Forces, Capt. (temp.) Rana Prithibiri Jung Bahadur (I. E. C. 4627) of the then Tripura Rifles is of the opinion that the highest and undying honour had not been won by the 2/lt. Indu Bikash Choudhury and 2/Lt. Dhirendra Ch. Deb Barman. In support of his opinion, Capt. Bahadur has shown the authority. "Allied Land Forces Routine Orders" published by General Sir William Slim, Commander-in-Chief of South-East Asia Command dated 10 October, 1945, where there is no reference of the above two names found.

Allied Land forces Routine Orders By General Sir Willim SLIM, KCB. CBE. D. S. O., M. C. Commander-in-Chief Allied Land Forces, South-East Asia Command.

Sl. No. 94

18, October, 1945.

Appendix - 'P'

Letter from Rai Sahib S. C. Dutta, Finance Minister, Tripura State, Agartala, to the Engineer-in-Charge, General Head Quarters, Patna, dated the 3rd January, 1944 regarding expenditure estimated on Defence works in State.

No. 5325
29-10

The 3rd January, 1944,

From :
Rai Sahin S. C. Dutta,
Finance Minister,
Tripura State,
Agartala.

To
The Engineer-in-Charge,
General Head Quarters,
Patna.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith duly audited a Statement of expenditure incurred upto 31.8.43 in improving the Comilla-Agartala Road and some other

Defence Works executed by the Public Works Staff of the Tripura State. It will be noticed that only the first two projects have already been completed and the execution and completion of the other works are awaiting receipt of fund.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

Sd/- S. C. Dutta,
Finince Minister,
Tripura, State,
Agartala.

Table.

Statement of Account in respect of Defence Works carried out under the P. W. D. of the government of Tripura upto 31 August, 1943.

Statement of Account in respect of Defence Works carried out under the P.W.D. of the Government of Tripura upto 31 August, 1943

Sl. No.	Name of projects	Authority under which work undertaken.	Amount of the Estimates	Amount received/from the Govt./through Tippera Treasury	Approximate value of the work done	Amount already paid	Balance available	Remarks
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Improvement of the Comilla-Sonamura-Agartala Road (S.L.No. B22)	No. G. 16 M.G. 14 Indian Division, Comilla, 14th May,1942	Rs. 11,01,500/-(Original) + Rs. 7,48,500/- Rs. 18,50,000/- (Revised)	Rs. 11,01,500/- + Rs. 2,16,100/-a Rs. 13,17,600/- -Rs. 10,000/-b Rs. 13,07,600/-	Rs. 17,75,000/-	Rs. 12,96,427/-	Rs. 11,173/-	Work already completed.
2.	Improvement of the Agartala Fatickcharra Tea G. Simna Road (S.L.No. B.22)	No. 722/2/90/E. H.Q.14 Indian Division dated 2nd Sept.1942	Rs. 13,62,779/-	Rs.13,62,779/-	Rs.14,19,062/-	Rs.13,48,353/-	Rs.14,426/-	Work already completed.
3.	Widening of the Comilla – Agartala-Simna Road (for double way Traffic) (S.L.No. B.22)	Memo No. R-11-/42-2716 dated 31st Decem.1942 & No. 11-2/42/3592-93, from Political Liaison Officer, Eastern States Agency.	Rs.17,22,252/-	----------	Rs.11,50,000/-	Rs.3,45,786/-	--------	
4.	Metalling of the Comilla-Agartala-Simna Road. (S.L.No. B.22)		Rs.33,54,750/-	----------	Rs.15,00,000/-	Rs.3,64,240/-	---------	
5.	Constructing bridges culverts over the Comilla-Agartala-Simna Road (S.L.No. B.22)		Rs.1,75,875/-	Rs.10,00,000/- - Rs. 2,46,100/- (a) & (b) Rs. 7,53,900/-	Rs. 40,000/-	-------	Rs.7,276/-	
6.	Repairs to short approach Road leading to Agartala Aerodrome from the Assam Road. (a) Earth work,							
		(a) No. 1018/2/225/Q dated 7th May,1943	(a) Rs. 15,341/-			Rs.7,20/-		
	(b) Metalling,	(b) No. 216/3/2/Q dated 30th March,1943 and	(b) Rs.91,00/-		Rs.1,10,000/-	Rs.22,483/-		
	(c) Bridging, (S.L.No.B.22)	No.216/3/Q dated 28th March,1943 respectively from H.O.354 L of C sub area	(c) 16,131/-			Rs.6,915/-		
7.	Constructing a bridge over Akhaura Road on the state Boundary	G.R.'s Comilla letter No. S/101/4/22 dated 25.12.42 and H.Q. Eastern Army letter No.39085/B/170 of February 1943	Rs. 8,000/-		Rs.2,000/-	--------	---------	
8.	Making Air Firing & Bombing Range (a) Initial (b) Re-curring.	Government of India War Department (Air Branch) letter No. 3218/85/ORG/A F dated 26th May,1943 to the Air O/C in C, Air Forces in India.	Rs.2,63,854/- Rs. 69,938/-	+ Rs.30,000/- (a) +Rs.10,000/-(b)	Rs.2,63,854/- Rs. 69,938/-	Rs.30,000/- Rs.10,000/-		
TOTAL			Rs.89,29,926/-	Rs.34,64,279/-	Rs.63,29,854/-	Rs.34,31,404/-	Rs.32,875/-	

(a) 2(b) Transferred from the provision of Rs.10,00,000 vide items Nos. 3,4 & 5.

Sd- S.C.Dutta
Finance Minister
Tripura State.

Appendix -- 'Q'

Status of the Military Police and their legel powers in the State :--

Legel Status :---

No doubt the Military Police Force has been set up by the Army for a special important war purpose, and co-operation with the object of the step is certainly necessary. But as things stand, it is doubful if the M.P. has any legal status in the State to assume the Jurisidiction of a parallel police organisation with powers to override the local Police and Magistracy acting under the Criminal procedure Code.

(a) Acts Unjustifiable :--

The orders setting up the force and posting them in the State have not been legally promulgated and it is not certainly within the rights of the M.P. to make (i) indiscriminate searches on their own authority without following legal procedure in force, (ii)to make indiscriminate arrests, (iii) to take men arrested to British India on their own authority in violation of the Extradition arrangement or (iv) to keep men arrested in police custody without reference to the Magistrace in violation of the procedure prescribed in the Criminal procedure Code.

(b) Investigations under Order III-Section 5(1) and (2), Cr, P Code applicable :---

Section 4 of the order (III of 1353 T.E) has no doubt repeated a portion of the provisions of section 5 of the Criminal procedure Code but the portion repeated exclusively relates to the Jurisdiction of trying courts and the expression " only so far as they relate to the trial of

offences triable by the Military Courts" is significant. It may be stated that the word "only" does not occure in the corresponding Ordinance No. XXXVII promulgated in British India and it is clear that the word has been used in the State Version of the Ordinance to give full stress to the point.

(c) The result is that the procedure prescribed by the Criminal Procedure Code in regard to (1) Police investigation (2) enquires, and (3) other incidental pre-trial matters in Section 5(1) and (2) stands intect and that sub- section (2) covers the case of offences under order III, there being no special procedure prescribed in it except for trials.

(d) Delegation of Authority under Defence of India Act promulgated under Section 2(4) and 2(5) D.I. Act :--

It can not also be said that the procedure adopted is justifiable under Section 3 of the Ordinance in regard to offences under the Defence of India Rules. Certain powers have no doubt been delegated to the " General officer Commanding in the area" under the section , but the Defence of India Rules do not override section 5 of the Criminal pocedure code altogether and in any case no authority has been legally delegated to the Military Police Force under Section 2(4) by the Ruler of the State who stands under the State version of the Act in the position both of the Central Government and the Provincial Government in the State, or by the General Officer Commanding in the area (if he can be regarded as being in the position of a provincial Government) under Section 2(5) of the D. I. Act.

(e) Army Act, 1911 not applicable -- vide 5.10 order III :--

The Indian Army Act also does not justify the procedure

adopted by the M.P. (i) In the first place the Act does not apply to anybody except the personal of the Military Force and (ii) The procedure prescribed by it has only been adopted in Section 10 of order III to a limited extent in relation to the trial procedure of Superior Military Courts.

(f) Section 14 of Order III is not ment to cover cases dealt with by a special police Force :--

Lastly it has to be considered whether section 14 or order III about emergent powers of arrest on suspicion by any member of His Majesty's Forces has introduced a new procedure in violation of the provisions of Section 5(1) and (2). A moment of careful consideration will show that Section 14 provides for an emergent powers exercisable by every soldier under stress of circumstances when he comes across a person whom he can reasonably suspect of being a criminal (e. g. exactly similar power of arrest by private persons under Section 59, Cr, P.C.)

(g) The Section does by no means authorise a particular body-- police or not -- to violate regular procedure regarding investigations, enquiries and other matters merely because the body has some Military personal on it. Had this been the case, a Revenue or an Engineering establishment under a Military officer may be in a position to usurp the police powers of investigation and arrest.

(h) All that can be said therefore under the existing circumstances is that the M.P. is in the position of an outside police Force -- whose works should be carried on by requisition and co-operation , the responsibility being with the police having jurisdiction.

Sd/- B.K Sen.
Political Minister.

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